

HISTORY AND PROGRESS
OF THE
TEMPERANCE REFORMATION,

IN
Great Britain and other Countries of the Globe;

WITH
STATISTICAL AND DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE OF ITS
BENEFICIAL RESULTS;

AND A PLEA FOR A MAINE LAW,

TO ENFORCE THE
Suppression of all Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks.

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ORIGIN AND PROGRESS

OF THE

TEMPERANCE REFORMATION.

AMONG the many remarkable changes of a reformatory character, which, from century to century, at wide and distant intervals, have awakened mankind to the presence of some great existing Evil, and aroused their dormant energies to a combined effort for its suppression, there is none, perhaps, since the advent of the Gospel and the changes it effected in the state of society, more remarkable than that of the Temperance Reformation, whether as regards the nature and extent of the evil it seeks to suppress—the rapidity of its progress in a short space of time—the number of its advocates, adherents, and disciples—the permanency of their convictions and the persevering character of their labours—or the immensely wide portions of the surface of the globe over which, during a period of little more than a quarter of a century, its beneficent influence has already spread.

To the extent of the evil inflicted by *Intemperance*, on the health, morality, and pecuniary resources of mankind, no single cause has presented any parallel. More lives are sacrificed, and more bodies are maimed and wounded by it, than by *War*—more physical and mental suffering is inflicted

by it than by *Slavery*—while it occasions a greater waste of treasure, in the grain and fruits converted by it from wholesome and nutritious food to poisonous drinks, and in the direct and collateral expenditure it involves, than “plague, pestilence, and famine” combined. But though we have for centuries past been in the habit of uttering our daily prayer, “From plague, pestilence, and famine, Good Lord deliver us!” as well as “from battle and sudden death;” yet we have remained blind and deaf to the daily evidences that surround us, of this greater scourge, whose destroying and devastating power far surpasses them all.

This blindness is the more remarkable in a nation by which millions of Bibles and Testaments are every year printed and dispersed, not only among our own population, but to the remotest corners of the earth, and in a country where you can scarcely enter an inn or hotel without finding a Bible placed there by the aid of pious and benevolent Societies, in every bed-room of the house, as well as Testaments, Psalters, Prayer-Books, and religious tracts, in the most luxurious dwellings, and the humblest cottages in the land.

That these Sacred Books are *read* by millions, no one acquainted with Christian habits, and the frequency of family devotion, can doubt; besides which, all who attend any place of public worship, morning, afternoon, or evening—daily in cathedrals, weekly in parish churches—and twice or thrice a week in dissenting chapels—must *hear* them read by the minister as portions of the service itself; so that none can reasonably plead ignorance of their contents as an excuse for neglect of their teaching, or disregard of their precepts.

It may be observed, too, that however different the doctrines of the various sects of Christians, in their widest extremes, and in all the slighter shades between—the whole of

them agree in this—that “All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness; that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works” (2 Tim. iii. 16, 17).

Now if there be one vicious habit more prominently and more frequently condemned than another throughout the Sacred Volume, it is that of *drunkenness*. If there be one class of examples of the evil consequences of any vice more frequently exhibited than another throughout its pages, it is that of *intemperance*. If there are more frequent warnings given in Scripture against yielding to any one kind of temptation more than another, it is against the seductions of *wine and strong drink*. If there be one peculiarity or positive characteristic of a holy man, or one favoured of God, more frequently exhibited than any other, it is that of *entirely abstaining* from the use both of wine and strong drinks. And lastly, if there is one sin more than another which is emphatically denounced as making the certain penalty of its habitual commission exclusion from heaven and all its bliss—it is the sin of the *drunkard*.

A moderate sized volume might be filled with texts and passages from the Old Testament and the New, in confirmation of these assertions; but a few will perhaps suffice.

Take the conduct, for instance, of Noah, the first who is said to have planted a vineyard: “And he drank of the wine, and was drunken, and was uncovered within his tent”—the rest need not be told—(Gen. ix. 21). The debasing effects of strong drink were so early and so well known, that in the injunction to the high priest, Aaron, we have this record: “And the Lord spake unto Aaron, saying, Do not drink wine nor strong drink, thou, nor thy sons with thee, when ye go

into the tabernacle of the congregation, lest ye die: it shall be a statute to you for ever, that ye may put a difference between holy and unholy, and clean and unclean" (Lev. x. 9). In the first recorded instance of a man being separated to the Lord as peculiarly holy, in the case of the Nazarite, the most prominent injunction is, "He shall separate himself from wine and strong drink" (Num. vi. 3). In the first announcement of the intended birth of Samson, who was to be remarkable for his physical strength, the wife of Manoah, his mother, was especially enjoined by the angel of the Lord not to take herself "either wine or strong drink;" and the child was equally to abstain from both, as he was "to be a Nazarite to God, from the womb to the day of his death" (Judges xiii. 4). The same was the case with John the Baptist, of whom it was said by the angel to his father, before his birth, "And he shall be great in the sight of the Lord, and shall neither drink wine nor strong drink, and he shall be filled with the Holy Ghost from his mother's womb" (Luke i. 15). In the Psalms (lxi. 12) one of the bitterest of the complaints of David was, that he was "mocked at by the sitters in the gate," and was even "the song of the drunkard;" as if it were impossible for greater misfortune or contempt to befall a man than this, to be the scoff of the very dregs of society.

Again, Solomon, his son, whose wisdom is proverbial, knew well the insidious qualities of wine when he exclaimed, "Wine is a mocker, strong drink is raging: and whosoever is deceived thereby is not wise" (Prov. xx. 1). And the same inspired writer adds, "It is not for kings to drink wine, nor for princes to take strong drink, lest they drink and forget the law, and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted" (xxxii. 4). The eloquent Isaiah repeats the same warning: "Woe unto them that rise up early in the morning that they may follow strong drink, that continue until night till wine inflame them"

(Is. v. 11). “Woe unto them that are mighty to drink wine, and men of strength to mingle strong drink” (v. 22). “Strong drink shall be bitter to them that drink it” (xxiv. 9). “They have erred through wine, and through strong drink are out of the way. They err in vision, they stumble in judgment” (xxviii. 7). And lastly, Solomon asks, “Who hath woe? who hath sorrow? who hath contentions? who hath babbling? who hath wounds without cause? who hath redness of eyes? They that tarry long at the wine; they that go to seek mixed wine. Look not thou upon the wine when it is red, when it giveth its colour in the cup. At last it biteth like a serpent, and stingeth like an adder” (Prov. xxiii. 29). The prophet Habakkuk, therefore, equally denounces the tempter with the tempted, when he says, “Woe unto him that giveth his neighbour drink; that puttest thy bottle to him and makest him drunken” (Hab. ii. 15).

There are some of the injunctions of the Old Testament that are abrogated by the New; and the new dispensation of the Saviour is justly characterised as imposing an easier yoke and a lighter burthen than the old dispensation of Moses. But no such change is observed in respect to the evils of drunkenness, and its terrible consequences to its unhappy victims; for it is in the sacred pages of the Gospel of Mercy itself, that occurs the dreadful and emphatic sentence, “No drunkard shall inherit the kingdom of God” (1 Cor. vi. 10). And both the Old Testament and the New abound with examples of the destruction of individuals, of nations, and of cities, from this prolific cause—through which both Nineveh and Babylon fell from their greatness, and by which Persepolis was enveloped in flames,—and all now lie level with the dust.

With the Bible in every one’s hands—read, recited, preached

from, commented on—and its interpretations fought for with fire and sword—its contemners punished with the rack, the dungeon, and the gibbet, because they would not follow some of its injunctions as other men understood them—it is surely wonderful that there should be any Jew or Christian ignorant of that portion of its contents which shows intemperance to be a *folly*, and drunkenness a *sin*. But more astounding than all is, perhaps, the fact, that the ordained and appointed interpreters of this Sacred Volume—the clergy and ministers of all Christian denominations—instead of being the first to recall these solemn truths to the minds of their hearers, have been hitherto the most indifferent to, or the most strenuous opponents of, the efforts made by laymen to supply this omission of their duty. And equally strange is it, that in Scotland, where the Bible is said to be more universally read, and better understood by the mass of the community, than in any section of Christendom, the folly of intemperance and the sin of drunkenness are both far more prevalent than in any part of the habitable earth!

Now, in the Koran, which forms the sacred volume of the Mohammedans, the injunctions against the use of wine and strong drink are neither so numerous nor so emphatic as in the Christian Scriptures, but at least they are observed by the professors of that creed; and one might travel through all Europe, Asia, and Africa, in the provinces inhabited by the different races of Turks, Arabs, Moors, Egyptians, Affghans, Persians, and Moguls, without seeing a single Mohammedan drunk—except where that vice has been introduced by Christians, who regard it as their distinguishing privilege! Here, then, we have the striking contrast of some millions of Mohammedans, who have a false religion, but are true and faithful in the observance of its commands; and of an equal number of Christians, who have a true

religion, but are false and faithless to its injunctions. It would not be difficult to pronounce which of these are entitled to the greatest credit, according to the maxim, that “where much is given much will be expected”—the one practising what they believe to be the will of God as revealed through His prophet: the other wilfully violating what they also profess to regard as true, and equally revealed by inspired messengers of the same Supreme Being.

If we turn from sacred to profane history, and consult the records of all nations, ancient, mediæval, and modern, we shall find that they abound with proofs the most demonstrative, of the evils inflicted by the use and abuse of wine and strong drink—in the wholesale corruption of communities, the madness of individuals, the murders, violations, robberies, and every other description of crime committed under their influence, of which the annals of all countries are full. And even at the present day, while, according to the admissions of the judges of the land, and the most experienced officials connected with the punishment of crime, nine-tenths of all the vice, suffering, and wretchedness with which the country abounds, is clearly attributed to the use of strong drink,—we are at the same time, as a Christian nation, doing our utmost to spread the poisonous infection among tribes and peoples hitherto free from this curse:—as in the corruption of the aborigines of all the savage countries visited by our navigators;—the introduction of ardent spirits among the wild tribes of Africa and America, for the more successful perpetration of frauds on them in barter;—the establishment of spirit-shops over all India by the British Government, for the sake of increasing its revenue;—and in the forcible introduction of opium by smuggling in China, to ruin the health and morals of the people through its intoxicating and

maddening effects, for the purpose of raising additional revenue, and upholding so infamous a traffic by the open sanction of a Christian Parliament !

Amidst the general indifference to the mass of evils springing from this prolific source, to which the community in general were both deaf and blind, and which the Government rather encouraged for the sake of gain, while fashion and custom lent their powerful aid to its support—a few clear-sighted and benevolent individuals, from time to time, ventured to give their opinions and experience on the subject to the world. One of the earliest of modern times was Mr. Basil Montagu, the eminent barrister, and learned editor of, and commentator on, the works of the immortal Bacon. His essay was entitled “An Enquiry into the Effects of Fermented Liquors,” the second edition of which was published in 1818, but the subject was likely to be so unpopular, that though he put his name to all his other writings, he did not venture to acknowledge openly the authorship of this, and substituted the anonymous designation, “By a Water Drinker.” Before this there had been remarkable examples of literary and scientific names of the highest authority, in favour of abstaining from all stimulating drinks, among whom it is sufficient to name Sir Isaac Newton, Milton, Loeke, Dr. Johnson, and the philanthropic Howard, with the venerable John Wesley, who not only abstained himself, but made it a condition of membership in his church, that all who belonged to it should abstain from either using, making, trafficking, or dealing in spirituous liquors. Dr. Trotter, the physician of the British Fleet, published also an admirable “Essay on Drunkenness,” in England: and Dr. Rush, “An Enquiry into the Effects of Ardent Spirits upon the Human Body and Mind,” in America. Dr. Beddoes,

also, of Bristol, not only wrote on the subject, but instituted some remarkable and successful experiments, to show that the greatest degree of physical strength was more easily attainable by those who drank only water, than by those who used alcoholic drinks, either in their strongest or their mildest form. But these were all isolated and individual efforts only.

At length the period arrived in which associated labours were deemed necessary to stem the torrent of evil that threatened to overwhelm the land by the flood of Intemperance ; and the first Society organised for this purpose was at Moreau, in the State of New York, in the year 1826. Its rules, however, required only abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, and moderation in the use of wine and beer. It no doubt effected great good, but it did not reach all the intemperate, as the standard of "moderation" was one on which no two persons could agree ; and each, therefore, setting up his own, trenched so closely upon excess, that the boundary line, so difficult to draw, was soon passed.

In the same year "The American Temperance Society" was organised at Boston ; and among the most powerful advocates of the Reformation in America may be mentioned the Rev. Mr. Hewitt, Dr. Lyman Beecher, the father of Mrs. Stowe, Dr. Edwards, Mr. E. C. Delavan, Mr. Freylinghausen, Dr. Channing, Mr. Tappan, and a number of worthy men, who, by sermons, tracts, public meetings, and periodicals, spread their views far and wide through the American Union.

In 1829, the first Temperance Society in the British dominions was founded by the Rev. G. W. Carr, at New Ross, in the county of Wexford, in Ireland ; and, in the same year, a Temperance Association was formed at Glasgow, Mr. John Dunlop, of Greenock, and Mr. William Collins, of Glasgow, being its chief promoters.

In 1830, the first English Temperance Society was formed at Bradford, in Yorkshire, chiefly through the influence of Mr. Henry Forbes, of that place.

In 1831, "The Hibernian Temperance Society" was organised in Dublin, with the Solicitor General for Ireland, now one of the Irish Judges, Sir Philip Crampton, in the chair; and, in the same year, the first Association was formed in the Metropolis, under the title of "The British and Foreign Temperance Society," at a public meeting in Exeter Hall, with Sir John Webb, the Director General of the Medical Department of the Ordnance, in the chair. This Society, like all the others formed up to this date, forbidding the use of ardent spirits only, but allowing the moderate use of wine and beer, was exceedingly popular with the higher ranks, as it called upon them to give up no personal indulgence, since not one in a hundred of the upper classes of society uses ardent spirits as a beverage. Her Majesty, the Queen, therefore, was easily prevailed upon to become its patron; and the Bishop of London, with several other dignitaries of the Church, and many eminent men among the Clergy of the Establishment and leading Dissenting Ministers, gave in their public adhesion to the Association.

The high example thus set was not without its beneficial influence; as, soon after, similar Temperance Societies were formed in Sweden—where, at that time, the enormous number of 160,000 distillers existed, and 40 millions of gallons of brandy were distilled from nutritious grain! In Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia, other Societies followed. South Africa and the Cape of Good Hope came next in the train; and, after these, Ceylon, Calcutta, and Australia, as well as Bermuda and the Sandwich Islands of the Pacific. In Sweden, Oscar the King, and his estimable consort, coun-

tenanced the movement by their presence at its public meetings; and compensation was granted out of the Crown Revenues to all distillers who would abandon the manufacture of spirits. In the Sandwich Islands, the Queen had all the ardent spirits found in her dominions destroyed, and its further importation absolutely prohibited; and in America, the President, Senators, and Members of Congress, as well as the Clergy and Ministers of Religion of all denominations, gave their sanction, and, what was of far greater importance, their personal example of entire abstinence from the use of ardent spirits, to the cause.

In most of the countries named, as it was the use of ardent spirits only that caused the intemperance and all its lamentable consequences, which it was desired to remove, the prohibition of their use effected great good. But it began at length to be perceived, in England, that this was but lopping off the branches of the upas tree, instead of hewing it down entirely, or plucking it up by the root; because, in this country, quite as many persons were intoxicated by the use of wine, beer, and cider, as by ardent spirits; and as the moderate use of these was allowed, and no fixed standard of what was moderate could be established, every man suited his own taste and pleasure in the matter, so that the very *use* became itself an *abuse*, as it kept up the taste for all alcoholic stimulants—it gave the countenance of religion and the sanction of fashion and respectability to its use, and thus sustained the traffic. And as no one ever became a drunkard at once, but always passed through the stage of “moderate use” first, it was found that so long as *any* alcoholic fluid or intoxicating substance was allowed at all, drunkenness was sure to follow, and drunkards to be made and confirmed as such, by the gradually increasing taste for the alcoholic poison, which it is its nature to impart; for this is as true of intoxicating beverages as it is

of opium and tobacco—the taste for which is weak at first, and sometimes even revolting, but by perseverance and habit becomes so strong as to be almost unconquerable.

Accordingly, at Preston and Blackburn in England, at Paisley in Scotland, and at St. John's, in New Brunswick, Societies on the principle of Total Abstinence from *all* Intoxicating Drinks, were founded in 1833. Of the Lancashire movement, Mr. Joseph Livesey, of Preston, was the chief originator, as he has been ever since the zealous and able advocate; and the singular name given to these societies, and now become fixed and legitimatized by long usage—namely, “Teetotal”—had its origin in this town. It appears that one of the provincialisms of Lancashire is the prefix of the syllable “*tee*” to express emphasis, completeness, and entirety, more brief and less offensive to the ear than the American expression of “going the whole hog,” but having exactly the same meaning. In one of the early Preston meetings, therefore, a zealous disciple of the new organization, named Richard Turner, wishing in his speech to express his conviction that nothing short of the entire abandonment of all kinds of intoxicating beverages would avail to put down the intemperance and drunkenness of the kingdom, exclaimed, “We must have a Tee-Total Abstinence from every kind of drink that will produce drunkenness, if we wish to get rid of drunkenness itself.”

This was the origin of the term, and not “tea-total,” as many write and understand it, as if tea were the only beverage permitted. And there was sound philosophy and a thorough knowledge of the weakness of human nature displayed in the observation of the speaker with whom this phrase originated: as it is founded on the maxim that “prevention is better than cure,” and that, if we wish to stop the flowing of poisonous

streams, we must arrest the fountain at its source. If the *effect* is what we wish to destroy, namely, drunkenness, we must destroy the *causes* that produce it, and the cure will then certainly follow.

The first public meeting held in London for the advocacy of Tee-total Societies was in 1834, at the Mariners' Church, Wellclose-square, built by the King of Sweden for the use of Swedish seamen visiting this port, and in the cemetery of which the celebrated Emanuel Swedenborg, who died in London, was buried. It was my privilege to preside at this meeting; and, in order to explain the grounds on which my own deep interest in the subject was founded, I may avail myself of the opportunity of briefly stating them here.

My first impressions of the evils of Intemperance were received when I was a boy, between nine and ten years of age. At that early period I was a prisoner of war, and had to march with my fellow-prisoners and shipmates through a considerable portion of Spain and Portugal, from Corunna, by Santiago di Compostella, Vigo, Oporto, Coimbra, and Santarem, to Lisbon. In the course of this long and weary journey, bare-foot, and amidst great suffering and privation, though wine and ardent spirits were almost as abundant as water, we did not see a single drunken Spaniard or Portuguese, but whenever we halted, some of our own countrymen were sure to get drunk; and the result was, insubordination, fighting, sickness, accidents, and troubles of all sorts and kinds, from which the sober foreigners among whom we journeyed were free.

During all my subsequent experience as an officer and commander at sea, in every quarter of the globe, and in every clime, I had seen that by far the largest portion of the shipwrecks, fires, collisions, foundering, by which so many

vessels perish, and so many thousand lives are lost, arose from the intoxication of some one or more on board, and the consequent neglect of their duty; and that the mutinies, floggings, accidents, and sickness occurring among the crews, were, in nine cases out of ten, clearly traceable to the use of ardent spirits, which I consequently did all in my power to discourage among my officers and men.

Again, after travelling extensively by land through Africa and Asia, almost wholly among Mohammedan nations, and seeing the universal sobriety of their inhabitants, I could not but be shocked, on my return to England, to see more drunken persons in a single day at Portsmouth than in many years of journeying through the countries of the East; and therefore I not only abstained from the use of these intoxicating drinks myself, with the greatest advantage to health, physical and intellectual power, serenity of temper, self-control, and the many other blessings which these bring in their train—but I was fortunately successful in obtaining the cheerful acquiescence of all my family and household, even to the domestic servants, as well as visitors and guests, to our own practice in this respect; and by the influence of example as well as precept—the first being far more powerful in its effects—to persuade large numbers of the poorer classes, whose houses and families I visited personally for this purpose, to abandon the use of beer, gin, and tobacco, and devote the money wasted on these to providing more substantial comforts for their wives and children, if married, or for themselves alone if not.

I therefore made it one of the conditions of my election for Sheffield, as one of its earliest members of Parliament under the Reform Bill of 1832, by which it was first enfranchised, that I should take an early opportunity to call the

attention of the House of Commons to the prevalence of intemperance, especially among the working classes of the kingdom, and ask for the appointment of a Committee to take evidence on the subject, and devise, if possible, some legislative preventatives or remedies for the same.

To assist, therefore, in the formation of public opinion on the subject—without the aid of which, legislative enactments can hardly ever be rendered effective in their execution—I was glad to have the opportunity of inaugurating the first Metropolitan meeting in favour of Total Abstinence from *all* Intoxicating Drinks—in advance of the only then existing Metropolitan Society, which confined itself merely to the prohibition of ardent spirits, but allowed the moderate use of wine and beer.

The announcement of such a meeting, and for such a purpose, in a locality like that of Ratcliffe Highway, in the east of London, filled as it was, and unhappily still is, with gin palaces and beer shops at every corner, excited intense interest among all the keepers of such houses, as they felt that “their craft was in danger” from such an open attack. Accordingly, on the evening appointed for the meeting, the Mariners’ Church was crowded to excess, and it was believed that at least three-fourths of the audience was formed of distillers, brewers, wine and spirit dealers, and their allies. I certainly never remember, in all the hundreds of public meetings that I had ever attended or addressed before, to have seen such marked disapprobation and even hostility written on the very countenances of the auditors I had to convince and persuade. Not a single cheer greeted my appearance on the platform; but a dull and dogged silence of the most foreboding kind everywhere prevailed.

I felt the full difficulty of my position, but I had a firm

reliance on the strength of the cause—and this reliance was not misplaced. As I opened the subject with gentleness and consideration towards those who, never having thought on the subject, might be wholly unconscious of their responsibility for the share they had in supporting the evil habits of Intemperance and all its fearful consequences, I was listened to with respect; and as I proceeded with facts and arguments that were evidently new, or at least had never been regarded by the hearers in the same point of view as they were now presented to them, I was glad to see some fierce countenances become more placid, some angry ones look serious and even sad, and some persons quietly retiring, as unable or unwilling to hear any longer what was so disagreeable to them.

At length, my address being ended, some faint expression of assent or approbation was given by a few; but no hostility was openly manifested by any. During the discourse, I had observed a group of respectably attired and sober working men, in their ordinary artizan's apparel, who had planted themselves near the platform, as if with the intention of taking some part in the proceedings of the meeting: and as I was about to leave the chair, the spokesman of the party asked permission to make a few remarks, which was, of course, readily conceded. He began, therefore, by saying, that he and his fellow-workmen, having seen by the announcement of the meeting that I intended to advocate the disuse even of beer, thought that this was such an invasion of the rights and privileges of the working classes, such an ungenerous attempt to deprive them of the beverage so necessary to their comfort and support, that they determined to come to the meeting and oppose it, because they regarded me as an enemy to the working men of the kingdom. He stated, however, that having now listened to all I had said, he was convinced that I was, in reality, well disposed towards their body, and had none but

friendly feelings towards the labouring classes. He agreed with me in all I had said about the deleterious nature of ardent spirits, and believed it was a delusion to think they imparted strength, or were in any degree necessary to the preservation of health. But as to beer, he regarded it, not only as the wholesome national beverage, but one of the necessities of life ; and he, therefore, in order that there might be no mistake on the subject, declared his entire conviction—and his fellow-workmen agreed with him in this respect—that no working-man could get through such heavy labours as they had daily to perform without it. He, therefore, wished to ask me one question only, in the face of the whole meeting, and hoped I would answer it frankly in the same open manner. The question was this : “Do you assert that beer is unnecessary even for hard-working men like us ; and do you seriously advocate and recommend that all working men should give it up, and believe that they would be able to get through their work better without it ?”

To this question I replied in the affirmative, and cited some remarkable proofs of its truth, in the testimonies borne by working men themselves, such as coal-heavers, furnace-men, steel-melters, stokers of steam-engines, anchor-smiths, and some of the severest kinds of labour known, to the benefits they had derived from abandoning the use of beer, and substituting for it soup, oatmeal porridge, milk, coffee, tea, and even simple water. I added many cases to show that, under every variety of temperature—in heat, cold, dryness, or moisture—the effect was the same ; of the facts of all which they were previously ignorant.

I then asked permission to put to this group of workmen, through their speaker, a single question of my own, and expressed a hope that this would be answered as frankly as I

had done myself. The question was simply this, "You assert your belief that it is impossible for artizans like yourself to go through their daily labour without the use of beer. Now, did you ever try?"

There was a short pause, after which they replied, "We never did."

I then added, that they were, therefore, not in a condition to say it was impossible, and if they were really in earnest in the matter, they ought to be willing to make the experiment, since, if they tried and failed, they might then cite their personal experience as proof; but till then, it was mere opinion, which might be true or might be false.

I proposed, therefore, that if they would make the experiment for a month—with full liberty to abandon it at any period of the course if they found it disagreeable or disadvantageous, but honestly proceeding with it so long as it agreed with them—we would all meet here again in the same building, that day month, to hear their report, when I would attend in my place as chairman, and willingly abide the result. The proposition was accepted, and the meeting was adjourned in peace.

On the day fixed for the second meeting, the Church was crowded for two hours before the time fixed for taking the chair; and on my arrival, at seven o'clock, the whole of Wellelose-square, in the centre of which the Church stands, was filled with so dense a mass, that it was more than half-an-hour before I could reach the door, and then only by a party of several persons going before me to clear the way. During the month that had elapsed since the first meeting, the excitement among the publicans and their customers in the neighbourhood had gone on increasing day by day, and heavy bets, it was said, had been laid—first, as to whether

the workmen would appear or not, and next, what would be the nature of their answer if they did. This will account for the immense crowds drawn together on this occasion.

On reaching the interior of the Church, and taking my place on the platform, I was glad to find the group of workmen already in their place, waiting patiently for the opening of the meeting; and as soon as the rush and murmur occasioned by every one desiring to be near enough to see and hear them was subsided, I called on the workmen to ascend the platform, and give to the meeting, through their spokesman, the result of the experiment which they had undertaken to make, of abstaining entirely for a month from the use of beer and every other kind of stimulating drink.

A profound silence ensued, during which all eyes and ears were open, and directed towards the men. They ranged themselves along the front of the platform, and the foreman, addressing himself to the audience, stated in substance as follows :—

“ We have faithfully kept the promise we made since the last meeting held here a month ago, and from that time to this, not one of us has tasted any intoxicating drink. For the first few days of the experiment, we found the use of water as our ordinary beverage instead of beer to be extremely flat and insipid, and were glad of the relief of coffee at breakfast and tea in the afternoon. But we confess that on the first Saturday night we felt ourselves less wearied and exhausted by our ordinary week’s labour, than on any previous Saturday that we could remember; and on the Sabbath morning, instead of being drowsy and lying in bed an hour or two longer than on working days, which is a common custom, extending with some workmen even towards noon, we were as fresh as on any previous day of the week, arose as

early, and had the forenoon for church or meeting, and the afternoon for a country walk, and a cheerful evening with our families and friends at home. During the second week, the flatness and insipidity of the water as drink was considerably abated; and we found ourselves so much less thirsty than usual, that we took very little liquid except at our meals. We found the next Saturday and Sunday an improvement even on the former ones; and remarked that our appetites were stronger, our digestion better, our tempers less liable to irritation, and our vigour and cheerfulness greatly increased. We were therefore so satisfied with the experiment, that we rejoiced at having made it, and continued it to the end, improving sensibly as we proceeded; and as we had not been a single day, or even an hour, absent from work during the usual periods, there were no deductions from our wages for lost time; so that, besides being stronger, healthier, and happier than before we commenced this substitution of water-drinking for beer, we had each of us, at the end of the fourth week, from thirty to forty shillings more in our pockets than we were formerly accustomed to have for the same period. We rejoice, therefore, that we attended the first Tee-total Meeting held in London, though we came to oppose it; and we mean to persevere as we have begun, and recommend all working men to follow our example."

The effect of such a statement as this, on such an excited crowd, may be easily imagined. Some cheered, others hissed, and some showed their rage and disappointment by more violent modes of expression. But as we received it all with patience and good humour, the disapprovers began to retire, the approvers chiefly remained, and after an address of about an hour, on the general question, the meeting dispersed in perfect order and tranquillity.

I may add that the chief of this group of working men,

who acted as their spokesman, was Mr. T. A. Smith, who subsequently employed his leisure in the study of anatomy, physiology, and chemistry, and who has now for many years past (for the meeting took place twenty years ago) been one of the most able and successful lecturers in the metropolis and the provinces, on the evils of Intemperance, illustrated with anatomical and physiological diagrams, to show its deleterious effects on the human frame, and by chemical experiments to prove the existence of alcohol in all fermented drinks, and exhibit its injurious properties in the effects produced by it on the human organs.

In this same year, 1834, I had placed an early notice on the books of the House of Commons—so as to give ample time for its consideration, before the subject came on for debate,—that on the 3rd of June I should submit the following resolution to the House—“That a Select Committee be appointed, to enquire into the extent, causes, and consequences of the prevailing vice of Intoxication among the labouring classes of the United Kingdom, in order to ascertain whether any legislative measures can be devised to prevent the further spread of so great a national evil.”

This notice of motion was entered on the opening of the Parliamentary session in February; so that there were four months of interval in which to prepare the minds of members for its due consideration. This was effected chiefly by the procuring petitions to be sent up to the borough and county members of the House of Commons, and to the peers residing in the neighbourhood of the petitioners, in the House of Lords, so that every week some members of both houses received such documents from their constituents, tenants, and connections, in the counties and boroughs of the country. The novelty of the subject to most of the members, and its

apparent unfitness, in their estimation, for legislative consideration, caused such petitions to be received sometimes with coldness and indifference, at other times with repugnance, and many of them were even presented with a scarcely disguised sneer at the folly of those who could dream of asking the attention of the legislature to such a question: the general remark being, that "if people were determined to get drunk, it would be impossible to make them sober by an act of Parliament," an observation equally applicable to thieving, murder, or any other crime; and which, if once admitted to be valid, would go to deny the utility of all legislation whatever. As, however, the fact of such petitions being sent up for presentation frequently led the members receiving them to refer to me personally for information on the subject, I availed myself fully of all such opportunities to give to the inquirers what might truly be called "a gratuitous lecture on the Temperance question," by which many confessed themselves startled at the new and appalling information on the subject which had thus become known to them for the first time, as they had really not bestowed the least inquiry on the matter.

An attempt was made to prevail on the Government of the day—Lord Grey being then Prime Minister, and Lord Althorp Chancellor of the Exchequer—to give their assent to the formation of the Committee, but they would not listen to such a proposition, having made up their minds to oppose it with all their power. A deputation of the friends of Temperance came to London from Belfast, on finding this to be the case, and waited upon me for the purpose of urging me to postpone the question till another session, as it was certain to be defeated in this: and thus allow time for the formation of a more accurate opinion on the subject out of doors, so as to increase the pressure on Parliament by that means. To this representation my answer was—That if they could convince me the

motion was in itself wrong, I should not only postpone but abandon it altogether ; but that, so long as it was right, it must be proceeded with ;—that in all great questions of moral improvement or political amelioration, many defeats had to be sustained before victory could be achieved, as in the case of the abolition of slavery, the removal of religious disabilities, the purification of Parliament, the encouragement of education, and other questions of this nature ;—and that if the advocates of these had waited till public opinion was all on their side before testing the House of Commons on the subject, neither of these great triumphs would have been yet achieved ;—that if a certain number of defeats were the necessary preliminaries to victory, the sooner we began the conflict the better ; as, by the defeat of this first attempt there would at least be one struck off the list, and fewer to be encountered in future. Besides which, public opinion itself is best formed by argument and discussion, and by the facts on which these arguments are grounded ; so that Parliamentary debates being the most sure and certain mode of bringing any question extensively before the public—as all the papers of each party publish these—this was one of the most effective means of forming the public opinion so much desired.

On the morning preceding the day fixed for the motion, another deputation from the friends of Temperance in London waited upon Lord Althorp, in Downing-street, to express their hope that as it was only a Committee of Inquiry that was about to be asked for, and no legislative measures to be pressed, his Lordship, as leader of the House of Commons, would at least act a neutral part, and not use the influence of the Government to oppose the motion. To this Lord Althorp answered, “ That as Chancellor of the Exchequer it was his business to see that the revenue was not impaired ; and as so large an amount of this was derived

from the duties on wine and spirits, malt, hops, and beer, it would be a most suicidal policy on his part to allow so material a source of revenue as these provided, to be endangered or jeopardized by such a Quixotic proposition as this: as the object was, he understood, to shew that the consumption of all these articles was unnecessary if not mischievous, and to abate and discourage their use."

The deputation urged the immorality of deriving a revenue from substances which, by their use and abuse, were the prolific sources of crime, poverty, and disease. But this made no impression; and their assurance that the money saved from an expenditure in these deleterious drinks would be ultimately spent on other articles of consumption, so as to produce an equal or even greater revenue from other sources, made still less. His lordship at length told the deputation, that his own mind was perfectly at ease as to the failure of the motion. "Mr. Buckingham," he said, "might be a very well-meaning man, but the fact was, as they said in Scotland, 'he had a bee in his bonnet;' he was, in short, a monomaniac on the subject of Intemperance, however sane he might be on other subjects; and he believed that he would stand alone in the House of Commons, without even being able to find a seconder for his motion, in which case it would of course fall to the ground."

This conversation, which was reported to me within an hour after its taking place, was not very encouraging; so that when I went down to the House on the following evening I was perfectly prepared for a very signal defeat. Still, for the reasons already assigned, I felt it my duty to persevere. On rising, at the call of the Speaker, when my turn in the notice paper came for the motion to be made, an audible titter reigned on both sides the House; but the smiles of

incredulity and looks of impatience and pity, that "the time of the House should be wasted on such frivolities," were certainly more marked and predominant among the Liberals, with whom I sat, and most frequently voted, than among the Tories, or Opposition Party. Many left the House, unwilling to be "bored" with what they neither wished nor cared to understand, though about two hundred members still remained. Of these, I afterwards learnt, many had come down purposely to vote against the motion, and had intimated their intention so to do; but after hearing some of the facts stated in the course of the speech, with which it was, of course, necessary to introduce the motion, shewing the grounds on which it rested, they could not conscientiously oppose all inquiry, and yet would not remain to support it; so that gradually the members were diminished to little more than half of those present at the beginning. Of those who did remain, however, the majority, though hostile or indifferent at the commencement, were so impressed with the importance of the evil sought to be investigated, as to vote in its favour; and the question which Lord Althorp told the deputation "would not meet with a single individual in the House even to second it," was carried by a considerable majority *against* the Government and its supporters; quite as much, I confess, to my own surprise, as to that of any of its opponents.

This could only be attributed to the facts and arguments which the speech itself developed; and as its delivery wrought so great a change in those before whom it was first pronounced, it is likely to carry equal conviction to those who may now read it for the first time, in the form in which it was originally reported in "The Mirror of Parliament." It is, therefore, here recorded, as forming one at least of the early and official documents connected with the history and progress of the Temperance Reformation.

REPORT OF THE SPEECH,

Delivered in the House of Commons, on Tuesday, June 3, 1834.

(FROM THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.)

In rising to call the attention of the House to the motion of which I have given notice, for a Select Committee to inquire into the extent, causes, and consequences of the great increase of habitual Drunkenness among the labouring classes of this kingdom, and to devise legislative measures to prevent its further spread, I am so fully sensible of the difficulty of the task, that nothing but a strong conviction of its public importance would have induced me to undertake it. In the expositions which it will be my painful duty to make, I can scarcely fail to encounter the hostility of those who profit largely by the demoralisation, of which they are both the cause and the support. In suggesting the remedies which I shall venture to propose, I foresee the opposition of a large class of persons interested in maintaining the existing state of things in all its force; while, from those who have no pecuniary interests involved in the inquiry, but who contend, conscientiously perhaps, that all legislation on such a subject is mischievous, and that the evil should be left to work its own cure, I shall have to endure the imputation of cant and puritanism, in affecting a higher regard for morality than others, of officious meddling, and oppressive interference with the rights of property, and the enjoyments of the labouring classes. For all this I am prepared; and yet, in the face of all this, I shall firmly persevere in my original

intention. Not that I am indifferent either to the rights of property, or to the enjoyments of my fellow-men; and the humbler their class, the more sacredly should their rights and enjoyments be guarded from legislative suppression; but after years of mature deliberation—after some reading, much reflection, and still more practical experience, grounded on extensive personal observation of the present condition of society in England, Scotland, and Ireland, which, within the last five years, has brought me into close intercourse with many thousands of all ranks and classes—my conviction is as strong as it is sincere, that of all the single evils that afflict our common country, the increased and increasing prevalence of Drunkenness among the labouring classes, including men, women, and children, is the greatest;—that it is not only an evil of the greatest magnitude in itself, but that it is the source of a long and melancholy catalogue of other evils springing directly from its impure fountain;—and as its daily operation is to sap the very foundations of social happiness and domestic enjoyment, my conviction is, that he who may be instrumental in arresting its fatal progress, will be conferring an inestimable benefit on his country, and rendering a valuable service to mankind. (*Hear.*)

Under this conviction, I propose, Sir, with the indulgence of the House, to direct its attention to some few of the causes which appear to me to have been most powerfully operative in extending the increase of Drunkenness, and to some few of the baneful effects which it produces, not merely on its immediate victims, but on the best interests of society at large. I shall then, I hope, be able to adduce sufficient reasons to show that legislative interference is imperatively demanded to check the evil—that it is justified by precedent and analogy—and that it will produce the end desired. After this, I will submit to the House the steps which appear to me

most likely to operate as immediate checks, as well as others more appropriate to be considered as ulterior remedies for an evil which it is desirable first to arrest in its present progress ; and then, if possible, to root it out and extirpate it entirely.

Of the fact of the increase of Drunkenness among the labouring classes of the country, I think there will be no doubt. But if there should, a reference to the reports of the police cases, published in any town of the United Kingdom, will be more than sufficient to remove such doubts ; and if to this be added the evidence furnished by the records of our criminal courts of session or assize, and by the coroners' inquests, hospital returns, and other public documents, accessible to all, the most irresistible proof will be produced to shew that Intemperance, like a mighty and destroying flood, is fast overwhelming the land. I content myself with two short extracts of evidence on this subject from very different quarters, which I have selected from a mass of others, because they are the shortest and the most recent, not written to serve any special purpose, and above all question as to their authenticity. The first is from the latest official Report of the Middlesex Lunatic Asylum at Hanwell, as published in the *Times* of the present month. It is as follows :—

“GIN DRINKING.—The seventy-six deaths which have occurred in the year have been, with the exception of those who have died from advanced age, principally caused by the disease of the brain, of the lungs, and the complaints brought on by those deadly potions of ardent spirits in *which the lower classes seem more than ever to indulge*. In a very great number of the recent cases, both amongst men and women, the insanity is caused entirely by spirit-drinking. This may, in some measure, be attributed to the young not being taught to consider the practice disgraceful, and to their being tempted, by the gorgeous splendour of the present gin mansions, to begin a habit which they never would have commenced had they been obliged

to steal, fearful of being observed, into the obscurity of the former dram-shops."

The second document to which I beg to draw the special attention of the House, is one of the most appalling, perhaps, that the history of Intemperance has ever produced. It is a report of the number of men, women, and children, who entered within a given time 14 of the principal gin-shops in London and its suburbs;—of which there are two in Whitechapel; three at Mile End; one in East Smithfield; one in the Borough; one in Old Street; two in Holborn; one in Bloomsbury; and three in Westminster. From these tabular statements I make only the following selections:—At the principal gin-shop in Holborn there entered on the Monday, 2,880 men, 1,855 women, and 289 children, making a total of 5,024 human beings in one single day; and in the whole week 16,998 persons had visited this single house. At the principal gin-shop in Whitechapel this had even been exceeded; for there had entered at this house, on the Monday, no less than 3,146 men, 2,189 women, and 686 children, making a total of 6,021 in a single day; and in the course of the week the numbers amounted to 17,403. The grand total for one week only in the 14 houses selected, the names of which I have seen, and the localities of which I have myself inspected, amount to no less a number than 269,437, divided in the following proportions, namely, 142,453 men, 108,593 women, and 18,391 children—the women and children united nearly equalling the men, and often surpassing them in the grossness and depravity of their demeanour. Alas! sir, is it England of which we are speaking—the land of the lovely and the brave—the seat of the sciences and the arts—the school of morality and religion; or are these attributes of excellence ascribed to us in mockery, in order to heighten our sense of sorrow and of shame? Yes! in a country second to none in

wealth—in intelligence—in power—and I will add, too, in general purity of conduct and character—there yet remains this deadly plague-spot, which I call upon the members of this House to assist, to the utmost of their abilities, in endeavouring to wipe away. If this almost inconceivable amount of degradation is produced by 14 houses only in this metropolis, what must be the mass of vice and immorality engendered by the thousands of other houses of the same class, though of inferior magnitude, which rear their decorated fronts in every street and avenue, whichever way we turn, though, like the whited sepulchres of old, “they are without all gorgeousness and splendour—within, all rottenness and death;” and if the waste, disease, and crime produced by intoxication in London alone be thus enormous, what must be the aggregate amount of each in all the other towns and districts of England? The sum is so fearful that I shrink appalled from its bare contemplation. (*Hear, hear.*)

If we turn to Scotland, the prospect is quite as discouraging. From a letter, dated Edinburgh, April, 1834, written by an eminent resident of that city, Dr. Greville, I extract only the following passage:—

“I have been this day in the City Chambers, and have ascertained from the official records, that in the Royalty (or city) there were issued for the year 1833-4, no less than 736 licences. The Royalty contains 55,232 souls, and 11,046 families; this is, therefore, a license to every fifteenth family. The whole population of Edinburgh and its suburbs is about 166,000; but beyond the Royalty the licences are mixed up with those of the county, and it is not so easy to obtain a distinct account of them. This, however, is well known, that three years ago, there were only 1700 licences in the whole of this district; so that the increase in that short space of time is enormous.”

If we ask whether Ireland is affected with this deadly plague as well as Scotland and England, the answer must, un-

fortunately, be in the affirmative. In Dublin, and in Cork, the increased consumption of ardent spirits, and the consequent increase of disease and crime, is undeniable; and testimonies might be multiplied on this subject to any required extent. But to take the north of Ireland, rather than the south, for an example—as the north is universally admitted to be in a higher state of order, peace, and comfort than the south—I quote a single passage from a Report drawn up by the Rev. John Edgar, Divinity Professor in the Royal College of Belfast, dated in January of the present year, in which he says,—

“The demand for spirituous liquors is so universal, that spirit shops in the towns of Ulster average 16, 18, and even 30, to one baker’s shop; and in some villages, every shop is a spirit shop. In one town, containing only 800 houses, there are no less than 88 spirit shops. The fruit of all this exhibits itself everywhere in the destruction of property, and peace, and health, and life, and happiness; in the increase of crime, the injury of the best interests of individuals, of families, and of the community at large.”

Subsequent to the date of this Report, I have received a letter from Mr. John Finch, of Liverpool, a gentleman well known for his intimate acquaintance with the lower orders of the people generally, from his having made their condition the subject of personal investigation and continued care. He says,—

“I have just returned from a six weeks’ journey in Ireland, having visited all the principal seaports in that Island, from the Giant’s Causeway to Bantry and Wexford; and certainly the condition of the great mass of the people in that country is as miserable as it is possible; they are filthy, ragged, famished, houseless, herding with pigs, and sleeping on dunghills, without regular employment, and working for sixpence, and even fourpence and fivepence per day. No doubt this wretchedness is in part owing to absenteeism, want of leases, high rents, and, in *some trifling degree*, to

tithes; but I feel satisfied that drunkenness and whisky-drinking are a greater curse than all these put together. Do you ask for proof? The finest mansions, parks, and farms in Ireland belong to distillers and brewers; the largest manufactories are distilleries and breweries, and at least one out of every four or five shops in Ireland is a dram or beer-shop. In one street in Belfast, I counted seven whisky shops together, on one side of the street. One of the Poor Law Commissioners told me at Waterford, that it had just been ascertained that £50,000 worth of whisky, and other intoxicating liquors, were sold at Clonmel in the retail shops last year, with a population of about 15,000; and it was believed that, in Waterford, with a population of about 30,000, nearly £100,000 worth was sold in the same time. It is true these are market towns of great resort, and, therefore, it is not to be supposed that it was all drunk by residents. Can we wonder, then, that the Irish people are so poor? I believe nothing can be done for their relief, unless means be first adopted to check this dreadful evil."

In the central parts of England, in the great manufacturing towns of Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and their surrounding districts, the evil is widely extending in every direction. In Manchester, and the surrounding towns of Bolton, Stockport, Oldham, and others, the increase of spirit shops and spirit drinkers is greater, perhaps, than in any part of England. Take the following testimony as to the former, from the excellent work of Dr. Kay, an eminent physician of that town, "On the Condition of the Working Classes:"—

"Some idea (he says) may be formed of the influence of these establishments, the gin-shops, on the health and morals of the people, from the following statement, for which I am indebted to Mr. Braidley, the Boroughreeve of Manchester. He observed the number of persons entering a single gin-shop in five minutes, during eight successive Saturday evenings, and at various periods, from seven o'clock till ten. The average result was 112 men, and 163 women, or 275 in forty minutes, which is equal to 412 per hour."

Mr. Robert Jowitt, a most respectable merchant and manu-

facturer of Leeds, states, that according to the official returns, there are no less than 297 hotels, inns, and taverns, licensed in that borough alone; besides 289 beer-shops, making in the whole 586 houses furnishing intoxicating drinks, in which, calculating the receipts of the former as on the average of £17, and of the latter on the average of £3 per week only, there would be expended the sum of £307,632 per annum; and by far the largest proportion of this is paid by the working people.

In the *Sheffield Iris*, of the 17th of May, but a few weeks ago, is the following paragraph, which, though short, speaks volumes, as to the fearful increase of Intemperance in the great district of which it is the centre. The paragraph is most appropriately headed, and is as follows:

. "THE INTOXICATING MARCH TO DEATH.—It is painful, but at the same time a most melancholy fact, that Mr. Badger, the coroner of this district, has, within the short space of ten days, had occasion to hold inquests on thirteen persons who have come to their deaths by accidents solely arising from indulging in the baneful vice of drunkenness." (*Hear, hear.*)

Sir, it would be easy to multiply evidence of this description to any extent required; but I refrain from adducing any more. Here, in the immediate precincts of the seat of legislation, under the venerable shadow of Westminster Abbey, as well as in other parts of this great metropolis; in Holborn and Seven Dials, on the north; in Southwark and St. George's-fields, in the south; in Whitechapel and Mile-end, in the east; in the Strand, in Piccadilly, and in Oxford-street, in the west; as well as Smithfield, Barbican, and Shoreditch, in the centre; everywhere, in every direction, in the heart, and around the suburbs of this mighty city, the demon of intoxication seems to sweep all before him with his fiery flood; while in the remotest villages and hamlets of the

country, as well as in the manufacturing towns, the evil has increased, is increasing, and cries with a loud voice from every quarter for redress.

From the melancholy facts of the case, I pass for a moment to consider what appear to me to have been among the causes of this increased drunkenness among the humbler classes. The first of these I take to be the early example of their superiors in the higher classes of society, among whom, in periods not very remote, drinking to excess was so far from being regarded as a vice, that it was often boasted of as a sort of prowess worthy of distinction and honour, when no entertainment was considered to be hospitably concluded without the intoxication of the majority of those who partook of it—when ladies were obliged to quit the dinner-table, to prevent their being shocked by the excesses of the gentlemen who remained; and when the liberality of the host was tested by the number of the guests he had made drunk at his cost. Happily for the better educated classes of society, this state of things, which many honourable members whom I now address are old enough, no doubt, to remember, has passed away. But drunken servants began at length to imitate drunken masters; and intoxication being regarded as a proof of gentility and spirit, and a sign of property or credit in the drinker, the vice soon spread lower and lower in the ranks of society; just as any other bad habit, whether of dress or manners, after having been discarded by the upper ranks, with whom it first originated, descends progressively to their inferiors.

Another cause has been, undoubtedly, the severe pressure of taxation, and the equally severe exhaustion of that excessive labour, by which alone a poor man could hope to find subsistence. These two causes operating conjointly, rendered it

almost impossible for labouring men to provide themselves with homes of comfort ; and, therefore, the blazing fire and easy chair of the tap-room at the public house possessed a more powerful attraction for them than an empty hearth, a damp floor, and a cold and comfortless lodging. They could not enter into this comfortable retreat without drinking something : the first glass begat only a thirst for the second : smoking was added by the landlord, to increase still more the thirst which he profited by quenching ; and associates in all vicious habits commending each other, for the purpose of quieting the reproaches of conscience, the moderate drinker looked indulgently on the drunkard till he became tainted with the destructive habit himself. The large size of the towns, increasing in every direction, making the old rural sports of England more and more difficult of access, and the lengthened hours of labour affording less time for healthful recreation, and forcing men to those more quickly excited pleasures of intoxication, were, no doubt, each auxiliaries to the causes I have described in towns ; while the departure from the old and wholesome custom of farmers entertaining their labouring men beneath their own roofs, produced the same result of driving them to pass their evenings at public houses in the country.

Another cause may, perhaps, be found in the sanction given to the sale of spirits by a Government license, which took away from the traffic the disrepute that would, no doubt, otherwise have attached to it, if not so authorized. The Government, deriving a large revenue from this source, again looked favourably even on the excesses which itself had in some measure created ; and the large sums which flowed annually into the Exchequer, by the increased consumption of ardent spirits, made them encourage rather than repress the disposition in the people to swell the Treasury through this produc-

tive channel. The duties were therefore continually augmented until they reached their maximum. This augmentation led to smuggling ; and as the tax which the smuggler evaded was regarded as a hindrance to the enjoyment of the people, public sympathy ran rather with the violators than with the observers of the law. The smuggler became everywhere a welcome visitor. The rich and the middle classes, as well as the poor, delighted in cheating the Government by purchasing a contraband commodity. The very risk and secrecy of the transaction gave additional zest to its fruits. Spirit-drinking accordingly increased extensively, and as legal distilleries were encouraged for the aid they gave to the Treasury, illicit distillation, and unlawful importation, were stimulated by high duties ; while the sellers of each left no exertion untried to increase the taste for a beverage, the sale of which brought them such large profits, and which, in its seductive nature, was calculated, if it could be but once implanted, to go on creating a vitiated appetite, which would grow by what it fed on, and know no bounds to its continued augmentation, till it destroyed its victim by his own excess.

To meet the increased demand engendered by this increased dissipation, new houses of entertainment sprung up in every direction, in the shape of wine-vaults and gin-shops in the large seaports and manufacturing districts, and taverns and ale-houses in the agricultural provinces. The Government, too, instead of checking the evil, added only fresh fuel to the already too rapidly devouring flame : and the reduction of the duty on ardent spirits on the one hand, and the increased facilities given to the sale of beer on the other, spread a flood of desolation over the whole surface of the country, which, departing from the mighty heart of the metropolis, was circulated in all the arteries and veins to the utmost extremities of the frame ; and has been thence rolled

back again in a torrent of such wide-spreading devastation, that it has scarcely left a single spot uninundated by its overwhelming waves. (*Hear, hear.*)

Let us seriously ask ourselves what have been the effects of all this? Alas! Sir, the answer is indeed a melancholy one. Deterioration of the public health to such a degree, that our hospitals and asylums are filled with the victims of intemperance. Increase of pauperism in every parish, so that the poor rates bid fair to exceed the rental of the land. Destruction of public morals, by the brutalisation of the old, and the prostitution of the young; the extinction of all honest pride of independence in the men, and the annihilation of all sense of decency in the women; the neglect of wives by their husbands, of children by their parents; and the breaking in sunder all those soft and endearing ties which heretofore were recognised as sacred among the humblest classes in society. These are but the outlines of this great chart of misery and degradation which Drunkenness has traced out for our survey. The details are too full of sickening horror to be painted by any pen, or uttered by any tongue; they must be seen to be credited, and witnessed before they can be felt in all their force.

As a matter of public economy (the lowest and narrowest light in which it can be viewed), let a calculation be made of the national cost of all this evil, and it will be seen, that if the revenue derived from it were ten times its present amount, it would be far outbalanced by the tremendous loss which it inflicts on the nation. It is estimated, on carefully collected data, that not less than fifty millions sterling is expended in a single year, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, in spirits, wine, beer, and other intoxicating and fermented drinks: not a single drop of which is necessary, either for the health or strength of man, but every glass of which is, in its degree,

absolutely prejudicial to the consumer. Here, then, are fifty millions of capital wasted—a sum equal to the revenue of the whole kingdom, as much thrown away as if it were sunk in the depths of the Atlantic. Nay, worse than that; for then it would be merely lost, and no more: but, from its being expended in intoxicating drinks, it gives rise to a long train of expenses besides. Of these, the hospitals and lunatic asylums may be put down at two millions; the county gaols and town prisons, river hulks and convict transports, with all the machinery of police and criminal jurisdiction, whether military or civil (for both are used), may be reckoned at five millions more; and the absolute destruction of property, in the burning of houses and their contents, the shipwreck of vessels, and the spoiling and ruining goods of various kinds, destroyed by neglect, may be estimated as at least three millions more. Let us add to this, the immense loss of time and productive labour, which will equal the sixty millions already enumerated. In a calculation that was made of the loss of wages, and consequently of productive labour worth those wages in amount, sustained by the members of the Trades Unions, when they devoted a single day only to a procession through London, it was estimated that the loss in wages by the whole number of those who either formed part of that procession, or lost their day by the suspension of business in all the parts through which they passed, and the absence from their homes of those who accompanied it, was at the least, £50,000. Now, from the great prevalence of the habit of congregating to drink in parties on the Sunday, the Monday, and sometimes even on the Tuesday in each week, it may be safely calculated that there is one such day as this lost in every town in the kingdom every week in the year. Supposing London alone, then, with its 1,500,000 inhabitants, to lose £50,000 by the very partial suspension of its trade

and productive labour in one week, 52 such weekly losses would exceed two millions and a half per annum ; and reckoning London as one-twentieth part of the whole kingdom, this would be 45 millions for the whole. It may be therefore asserted, without fear of contradiction, that the aggregate expenses entailed, and losses sustained, by the pernicious habit of drinking, exceed 100 millions annually ; that, in a mere pecuniary and economical sense, it is the greatest blight that ever cursed our country ; and like the cankerworm, it is eating out its very vitals. (*Hear.*)

There is another consideration connected with the economical part of the question, which ought not to be overlooked. Among the various public questions which deeply engage the minds of all classes, there is not one, perhaps, of more general interest than that of the importance of increasing the quantity and lessening the price of food to the labouring classes. Let us see for a moment how this increased use of ardent spirits and intoxicating drink operates in that particular. The quantity of British-made spirits (quite exclusive of foreign importations) has greatly exceeded twenty millions of gallons on the average of several years past, and now exceeds twenty-seven millions, having increased more than one-third within a very short space of time. This increased consumption of spirits I remember to have heard cited on one occasion, by the right hon. the Secretary of the Treasury (Mr. Spring Rice), as a proof of the increased prosperity of Ireland, so exclusively is the Treasury idea of prosperity confined to the proof of money coming into the Exchequer ; though that may be caused by the very impoverishment and misery of the people. But let us see how this increased consumption of ardent spirits decreases the supply of human food. It requires one bushel of grain to make two gallons of spirits ; so that, taking the legally-distilled spirits made at home

at twenty-seven millions of gallons, and the illegally-distilled spirits at half that quantity—and in Scotland and Ireland it is much more—these forty millions of distilled spirits would consume twenty millions of bushels of grain in a year. Here, then, is not merely a waste and destruction of that very food of which the labouring classes of England have not enough, and which they are demanding to be admitted from foreign countries, duty free; but it is a conversion of one of the best gifts of Providence, a wholesome and nutritious article of sustenance, into a fiery flood of disease, of crime, and of physical and mental destruction. We hang, by the hands of the common executioner, the ignorant rick-burner, who destroys the hay or straw laid up for the winter food of cattle; while we encourage and enrich the distiller and the vendor of that far more destructive fire, which consumes twenty millions of bushels of the best food of man, which spreads its exterminating lava over the whole surface of society, which kills the body, which destroys the soul, and leaves no one redeeming or even palliating trace behind it.

That the use of these drinks is not, in the slightest degree, necessary to health or strength, may be proved by the habits and condition of the people in other lands, and by the testimonies of personal experience and professional eminence in our own. In Turkey, in Persia, in Bokhara and Samarcand, which, though Mohammedan countries, have snow and ice during a large part of the year, and a climate more severe in many parts during the winter even than our own, the people use no stronger drinks than water, milk, and sherbet, a kind of pleasant lemonade, without the least admixture of fermented or spirituous ingredients; and in health, strength, and beauty, they rank the first among the nations of the world. The pehlevans, or athletæ, of Persia, as well as the wrestlers and quoit-players of Upper Hindoostan, are among

the most muscular and powerful men that I have ever seen—before whom the strongest European would quail ; and these drink nothing stronger than water. In my own journeys, during one of which I rode upwards of 800 miles on horseback in ten successive days, or more than 80 miles a day, in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, with the thermometer at the burning heat of 125 degrees in some parts of the journey, and below the freezing point in others, I drank only water, and still continue that pure and wholesome beverage, in the enjoyment of a health and strength, and capacity to sustain fatigue, such as, if my beverage were either beer, or wine or spirits, I could not possibly enjoy. Nor am I a singular instance ; for I have the pleasure to know many, who, having made the same experiment, and finding its benefit, have had the courage and the firmness to persevere in its practice, amidst the scoffs and sarcasms of the world. On this subject, however, the following testimony, signed by no less a number than 589 medical men of the first eminence, in the principal towns of the kingdom, is at once conclusive and irresistible :—

“We, the undersigned, do hereby declare, that, in our opinion, ardent spirits cannot be regarded as a necessary, suitable, or nourishing article of diet ; that they have not the property of preventing the accession of any complaints, but may be considered as the principal source of numerous and formidable diseases, and the principal cause of the poverty, crime, and misery which abound in this country ; and that the entire disuse of them, except under medical direction, would materially tend to improve the health, amend the morals, and augment the comfort of the community.”

Let me add to this the individual opinions of the following eminent members of the medical profession, in London, Edinburgh, and Dublin :—

Sir Astley Cooper, Bart., Principal Surgeon to the King, says :—

“No person has a greater hostility to dram-drinking than myself, insomuch that I never suffer any ardent spirits in my house, thinking them *evil spirits*; and if the poor could witness the white livers, the dropsies, the shattered nervous systems which I have seen, as the consequences of drinking, they would be aware that spirits and poisons were synonymous terms.”

William Harty, Physician to the Prison of Dublin, says:—

“Being thoroughly convinced, by long and extensive observation amongst the poor and middling classes, that there does not exist a more productive cause of disease, and consequent poverty and wretchedness, than the habitual use of ardent spirits, I cannot, therefore, hesitate to recommend the *entire* disuse of such a poison, rather than incur the risks necessarily connected with its most moderate use.”

Robert Christison, Professor of Materia Medica in the University of Edinburgh, says:—

“The useful purposes to be served by spirituous liquors are so trifling, contrasted with the immense magnitude and variety of the evils resulting from their habitual abuse by the working classes of this country, that their entire abandonment as an article of diet is earnestly to be desired. According to my experience in the Infirmary of this city, the effects of the abuse of ardent spirits in impairing health and adding to the general mortality, are much increased in Edinburgh since the late changes in the Excise Laws, and the subsequent cheapness of whisky.”

Edward Turner, Professor of Chemistry in the London University, says:—

“It is my firm conviction that ardent spirits are not a nourishing article of diet; that in this climate they may be entirely disused, except as a medicine, with advantage to health and strength; and that their habitual use tends to undermine the constitution, enfeeble the mind, and degrade the character. They are one of the principal causes of disease, poverty, and vice.”

I cannot forbear adding to this, the fact of two experiments having been recently tried, one among the anchor-smiths in

one of the King's dockyards, and another among the furnace-men, or smelters of tin ore, in Cornwall. As in each of these occupations the heat of the fires is excessive and the labour great, it had been always hitherto considered necessary to grant an unlimited supply of beer to the persons engaged in it. But a party of each were prevailed upon, for a sum of money divided among them, to try the experiment of working a gang of water-drinkers against one of beer-drinkers, each equal in number and average strength; and the result of both the experiments went to prove that the water-drinkers could sustain the greatest degree of heat and labour with the least exhaustion or inconvenience. This is the case in England. I will add only a short paragraph from the valuable testimony of a well-known authority, Henry Marshall, Esq., Deputy Inspector-General of Army Hospitals. In a valuable paper on the impolicy of issuing ardent spirits to the European troops in India, he says:—

“The first error with respect to the use of ardent spirits which I mean to oppose, is, that they contribute to enable men to undergo great fatigue. This is, I believe, a very common error. Spirits never add permanent strength to any person. In all climates the temperate livers are the fittest to endure fatigue. Dr. Jackson travelled 118 miles in Jamaica in four days, and carried baggage equal in weight to the common knapsack of a soldier. He says, ‘In the journey which I have just now mentioned, I probably owe my escape from sickness to temperance and spare diet. I breakfasted on tea about ten in the morning, and made a meal of bread and salad after I had taken up my lodging for the night. If I had occasion to drink through the day, water or lemonade was my beverage.’ He concludes his observations on this topic by stating, ‘I have introduced my own experience on the present occasion, because it enables me to speak from conviction, that an English soldier may be rendered capable of going through the severest military service in the West Indies, and that temperance will be one of the best means of enabling him to perform his duty with safety and effect.’ Personal experience

has taught me that the use of ardent spirits is not necessary to enable a European to undergo the fatigue of marching in a climate whose mean temperature is between 73 and 80 degrees, as I have often marched on foot, and been employed in the operations of the field with troops in such a climate, without any other beverage than water and coffee. So far from being calculated to assist the human body in enduring fatigue, I have always found that the strongest liquors were the most enervating, and this in whatever quantity they were consumed; for the daily use of spirits is an evil habit which retains its pernicious character through all its gradations. Indulged in at all, it can produce nothing better than a more diluted or mitigated degree of mischief."

Let the following short testimonies of three eminent physicians, Dr. Rush, in America; Dr. Trotter, Physician to the Fleet, and one of the most experienced medical men ever possessed by the navy of England; and Dr. Paris, a gentleman of extensive practice in London, be added; and the evidence on this branch of the subject will be complete.

Dr. Rush says:—

"Since the introduction of spirituous liquors into such general use, physicians have remarked, that a number of diseases have appeared amongst us, and have described many new symptoms as common to all diseases."

Dr. Trotter says:—

"Amidst all the evils of human life, no cause of disease has so wide a range, or so large a share, as the use of spirits." "Spirituous liquors (he adds) destroy more lives than the sword; war has its intervals of destruction, but spirits operate at all times and seasons upon human life."

And Dr. Paris says:—

"The art of extracting alcoholic liquors by distillation, must be regarded as the greatest curse inflicted on human nature."

Notwithstanding this, with an infatuation most blind and besotted, and too much, I regret to say, fostered and encour-

raged by those of their superiors, who talk of the “comfort and refreshment” which these deadly poisons afford to the labouring classes, we see the town and country population, with sickly countenances—sunken eyes—pallid cheeks—livid lips—enfeebled knees—palsied heads and tremulous hands—absolutely diminishing in stature, and becoming uglier in feature—begetting a progeny which, besides partaking of the diseased constitution of their parents, are initiated into the use of the insidious poison in their very infancy, by their wretched mothers, and are growing up more feeble in bodily strength, more weak in mental power, and more vicious and degraded in moral conduct, than even their parents themselves, to whom they are inferior in physical stamina, but whom they exceed in self-abandonment and dissipation.

There are some, however, who, though they admit the injurious effects produced by the general habits of intemperance, deny that the habit itself has increased; and for their conviction, I venture to adduce the following remarkable facts, taken from a very valuable little work, published only four years ago, entitled “An Inquiry into the Influence of the excessive use of Spirituous Liquors, in producing Crime, Disease, and Poverty in Ireland;” compiled from the most authentic and official documents, and exhibiting most remarkable results. On the subject of the increased prevalence of intemperance at present, as compared with former periods, the writer says:—

“But there is in the collection of London Bills of Mortality, an item which enables us to judge, with some degree of correctness, of the alteration which had taken place in the habits of the population of the metropolis. The item to which we allude is that of ‘deaths by excessive drinking.’ Examining the London Bills of Mortality we find, that with one exception, there is no record of death by excessive drinking until the year 1686; nor did the average exceed

one annually for thirty years after that date. But we find that when, by legislative encouragement to distillation for home use, spirits became the general beverage, deaths by excessive drinking so rapidly increased, that their average for the thirty years between 1721 and 1750, exceeded *thirty-three* annually; that is, that there were nearly as many deaths from intoxication in *one year* when spirits were used, as there were in the entire *thirty years* between 1686 and 1715, when ale was the chief drink of the citizens.

“The Dublin Bills of Mortality show that the effect in that city was the same. In twenty years, between 1726 and 1745, there were but *three* deaths by excessive drinking recorded, ale being, during that time, the principal drink of the labouring classes; but when the encouragement to distillation for home use rendered spirits the more general drink, that is, between the years 1746 and 1757, there died from intoxication (on an average) *in each year*, more than double the number that had died in the entire of the preceding twenty years.

“Nor is the effect of prohibitions to distillation, in producing sobriety, less remarkable. In the three years prior to the restriction on distillation in England, in 1751, the annual average of deaths by ‘excessive drinking’ in London, was *twenty-one*; in the three years after that partial restriction, the deaths averaged only *twelve*; but in the three years between 1757 and 1760, when distillation was totally prohibited, the annual average of deaths was but *three*.”

Let this be compared with the fact of thirteen deaths in ten days, from excessive drinking, as reported by the coroner, in the district of Sheffield alone, and the contrast is frightful. (*Hear, hear.*)

To show that in England, up to the latest date, the same effects are produced by the same causes, let me add the following short but convincing testimony from the most authentic source:—

“Mr. Poynder, the sub-sheriff of London, states, that he has been so long in the habit of hearing criminals refer all their misery

to the habit of dram-drinking, that he has latterly ceased to ask them the causes of their ruin. Nearly all the convicts for murder with whom he had conversed, had acknowledged that they were under the influence of spirits at the time they committed the acts for which they were about to suffer. Many had assured him that they found it necessary, before they could commit crimes of particular atrocity, to have recourse to dram-drinking as a stimulus to fortify their minds to encounter any risk, and to proceed to all lengths; and he mentions the cases of several atrocious offenders, whose depravity was by themselves attributed to, and was on investigation found to have originated in, such habits of intoxication."

I ask the House, as a body of intelligent English gentlemen, as husbands and fathers, as legislators and guardians of the public weal, ought such a state of things as this to continue? I ask, whether the picture I have drawn is not literally and painfully true? And I equally ask, whether the time is not fully come to demand that we should apply a remedy? It will be said, perhaps, by some, though I think there will be few, that the evil is beyond the province of legislation, and can only be met by prospective measures of education, moral training, religious instruction, and other aids of this description. Sir, I am far from undervaluing these powerful and benign agencies in human improvement. But the evil requires present checks, as well as remedies more remote. If the public health is injured—nay if it is even threatened with only a probable injury, do we not establish quarantines, and interdict commercial intercourse, at immense sacrifices of property, because we will not endanger the life of even one of the king's subjects, by permitting the crew to land, or the cargo to touch the shore, till every ground of apprehension has been removed? If the cholera should appear in any of our towns, notwithstanding every precaution suggested by individual prudence and self-preservation, do we not compel certain regulations of cleanliness and police?

Do we not arm medical boards with power to impose quarantine, and to guard the public health, at whatever sacrifice of other objects, if the removal of these be necessary to attain their end? What, then, is this but legislative interference with the freedom of intercourse and the freedom of trade? It is as much our duty to maintain the public peace as to save the public health, and, therefore, we have a yeomanry, a militia, a body of watchmen, and police. We recognise the propriety of preserving the public morals, by the institution of our courts of law, by the suppression of gambling houses and brothels, the prevention of prize-fights, and the apprehension and punishment of pickpockets and thieves; and in doing all this, we but do our duty. If, then, drunkenness be equally injurious to the public health, destructive of the public peace, and dangerous to the public morals of the community—and who will venture to deny that all these effects are produced by it?—why should it not be equally subjected to legislative interference and checked by legislative control? Drunkenness is in itself a crime, as much so as adultery, or lying, or theft. As such it is denounced by religion, in terms which no man can misunderstand: and the drunkard is especially declared to be unworthy of inheriting the kingdom of God. But, in addition to its being a crime in itself, it is either the parent and source, or the most powerful auxiliary, of almost every other crime that exists. In proof of this assertion, let me adduce the following testimony from the last Report of that admirable institution, “The British and Foreign Temperance Society,” of which the Bishop of London is the president, and of which many eminent men of all professions are now become members. That Report says,

“The quantity of spirits which pay duty for home consumption in this kingdom has more than doubled within a few past years. According to Parliamentary returns, made in 1833, it amounted to

25,982,494 gallons at proof, which, with the addition of one-sixth for the reduction of strength by retailers, amounted to 13,429,331*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.*; and this sum does not include any part of the many millions of gallons known to be illicitly distilled, or imported without paying duty.

“Four-fifths of all the crimes in our country have been estimated to be committed under the excitement of liquor. During the year 1833, no less than 29,880 persons were taken into custody by the metropolitan police for drunkenness alone, not including any of the numerous cases in which assaults or more serious offences have been committed under the influence of drinking; and it should be observed, that this statement relates only to the suburbs of London, without any calculation for the thousands of cases which occurred in the city itself.

“Our parochial expenses, which have been nearly doubled since 1815, are principally occasioned by excessive drinking. Of 143 inmates of a London parish workhouse, 105 have been reduced to that state by intemperance; and the small remainder comprises all the blind, epileptic, and idiotic, as well as all the aged poor, some of whom would also drink to intoxication if opportunity offered.

“More than one-half of the madness in our country appears to be occasioned by drinking. Of 495 patients admitted in four years into a lunatic asylum at Liverpool, 257 were known to have lost their reason by this vice.

“The poors’ rate and county rate, for England and Wales only, amount to 8,000,000*l.* The proportion of this expenditure, occasioned by drinking, may be most safely estimated at two-thirds, say 5,333,333*l.*; which, added to the cost of spirits alone, 13,429,331*l.*, gives the sum expended by this nation, in the last five years, on these two objects only, at 93,813,321*l.*; amounting in only twenty years, to three hundred and seventy-five million pounds sterling; without including any computation for the enormous sums consumed in the *abuse* of wine and beer, the expenses of prosecutions, the injury done to our foreign trade, the loss of shipping, and the notorious destruction of property in various other ways.”

Are these evils of sufficient magnitude to demand legislative

interference, or are they not? I hear every one instinctively answer, yes! And after the recent admission in this House, that the smaller evils of the beershop required a legislative remedy, it is impossible that the same assembly can refuse its assent to the proposition that the greater evil of the gin-palace requires equal correction and cure. It is not, Sir, I am well aware, a very popular topic to quote America as an example in this House; but as the conduct of her legislators in this respect arises in no degree from their republican principles, it may be cited without alarming any political opponent, and will be approved, I think, on all sides, by the moralist and Christian at least. My chief reason for doing so is, however, to show that a Government can do much, even to improve the public morals, by its judicious interference; and that, too, without the slightest violation of rational liberty, or without risking popular dissatisfaction.

Public opinion having been strongly awakened to the evils of intemperance in America, private societies were first formed for preventing, as far as their influence could effect it, the further spread of this evil; and when they had acquired a strength in the country, by the number and respectability of their members, the Legislature voluntarily came forward to second their efforts by their powerful aid. The first step taken by the American Government was to issue the following order, which was dated from the War Department of the Army, November 2, 1832:—

“Hereafter no ardent spirits will be issued to the troops of the United States; but sugar, coffee, and rice shall be substituted instead. No ardent spirits will be allowed to be introduced into any fort, camp, or garrison of the United States, nor sold by any sutler to the troops, nor will any permit be granted for the purchase of ardent spirits.”

About the same period, the Secretary of the Navy was

instructed to select one of the ships of war for the purpose of trying the experiment of abolishing the use of spirits by the seamen, which succeeded so well, and was so soon adopted by the mercantile marine, that at the present moment there are no less than 700 American vessels sailing, without a single gallon of ardent spirits on board, and this, too, to all parts of the world, amid the icy seas of the arctic and antarctic circles, and in the burning regions of the torrid zone. One of the most striking proofs that could be adduced, perhaps, of the acknowledged value of this abandonment of the use of spirituous drinks at sea, is to be found in the fact, that these American vessels find freights, from a public confidence in their greater safety, when English ones cannot obtain them at all; and but recently, when the eminent house of Baring, Brothers, and Company, of London, wrote to their agent in Amsterdam to know how it was that freights were not obtainable for their vessels, the reply returned by the agent was, that there were American ships in port, in which the captain, officers, and crew, alike abstained from the use of ardent spirits; and that till these were all supplied with freights, no English ship would be engaged. Still more recently, and as a consequence, no doubt, of this communication, the same distinguished merchants have lately launched a noble vessel in the river Thames, destined for the newly-opened trade to China, which is to take no ardent spirits for the use of any one on board, except a small quantity in the medicine chest, as arsenic or laudanum, or any other poisonous drug, to be administered by the skilful hand of the surgeon. And the public opinion in favour of the wisdom and safety of such a step is abundantly expressed by the simple fact, that the insurance upon her voyage has been effected at five per cent. premium, instead of six, paid by vessels taking spirits; and considering the risks incurred by the possible

drunkenness of any of the officers or men at sea, and the risk of fires from the same cause, the difference in the premium is fully justified by the diminished danger of the case. (*Hear.*)

Let no one imagine that discontent among the seamen would be the probable result of such an arrangement. The most experienced of our naval commanders know well that drinking is the chief cause of all the disobedience and discontent ever manifested at sea. The excellent Captain Brenton, of his Majesty's Navy, who takes so deep an interest in the improvement of the service, has again and again declared that, if ardent spirits were withheld, flogging would never be necessary; and the gallant Captain Ross has proved, by the good health and perfect discipline of his intrepid little band, who were buried amidst the polar snows for many months, without a single drop of ardent spirits, that it is neither necessary to health nor contentment; but comparing their own condition with that of other crews, in far less perilous situations, they have good grounds for concluding that ardent spirits are detrimental to both.

Nor is it in the navy only that the absence of ardent spirits leads to improved discipline, and its use produces insubordination; as the testimony of Mr. Marshall, the Army Physician, whose authority I quoted before, will show. He says:—

“Military discipline, in all its branches, becomes deeply affected by habits of intemperance. To the generally prevailing vice of drinking are to be attributed almost every misdemeanour and crime committed by British soldiers in India. The catalogue of these, unhappily, is not a scanty one; for, by rapid steps, first from petty, and then more serious, neglects and inattentions, slovenliness at, and absence from, parades, follow disobedience of orders, riots and quarrels in barracks, absence from guards, and other duties, affrays

with the natives, theft, and selling of their own and their comrades' necessities, robberies, abusive language, and violence to non-commissioned officers, insolence to officers, and last of all, desertion, mutiny, and murder may be traced to this source. This frightful picture is not exaggerated. I have seen thirty-two punished men in a regimental hospital at one time. Perhaps not a single individual of that number suffered for a crime which was not a direct or indirect consequence of the immoderate use of spirits. I recollect attending at the punishment of seven men of the same regiment, who received among them 4,200 lashes. They had been all tried for crimes arising from intemperance."

The Duke of Wellington, in the Regimental Orders issued to the Grenadier Guards, in October of the last year, 1833, dwells at large on the fact of increased crime in the army resulting from increased drunkenness; and attributes all the breaches of discipline and other offences principally to this cause—a fact also which has been tacitly admitted by the Secretary at War, who recently expressed his apprehension at the abolition of military flogging, because insubordination and crime had latterly increased in the British army. The cause of that increase was clearly seen by the Duke of Wellington, as arising from increased drunkenness, and that increased drunkenness arose from those increased facilities created by the gin-shops, staring the passenger in the face at every step of his way through almost every part of the great thoroughfares of the metropolis.

Passing from the American army, navy, and mercantile marine, we find that the Legislature has not been indifferent to the subject, in the interior towns. In the State of Vermont, an animated debate occurred on the question, whether the corporations of the towns in that state should have the power to grant any licenses at all for the sale of ardent spirits: and the result of the discussion was, a withholding of that right,

on the ground that ardent spirits were a deadly poison; a sentiment already quoted from Sir Astley Cooper, who, for that reason, would never permit any to be kept in his house; and that therefore the State ought not to sanction, by their license, any traffic in it at all, except as other poisons, under the care of a discreet and prudent dealer in medicines. The State of Ohio soon after imitated this example. In the State of New York the towns have been empowered, by an annual meeting of the inhabitants, to determine, by a majority of householders' votes, whether any, and how many retailers of spirituous liquors, shall be licensed in their respective communities. In the whole county of Plymouth, in the State of Massachusetts, where there are 40,000 inhabitants, not a single person is now licensed to sell spirits. In the month of February, 1833, a Society was formed, composed entirely of members of the National Congress, and officers of the public service, civil, naval, and military, for the progressive abolition of the use and sale of ardent spirits; so as to give to this object all the weight of the highest Government influence. Their first meeting was held in the Senate Chamber—the Honourable William Watkins, one of the members of the Senate, being called to the chair, and the Honourable Walter Lowrie, the Secretary to the Senate, acting as secretary to the Society thus formed. The House of Representatives entered as cordially into this association as the House of Assembly, and the local legislatures of the several States have almost wholly followed their example. The result of all this united power of public opinion, and Government authority and example, cordially operating together, has been this: that in America, within the last few years only, more than 2,000 persons have voluntarily abandoned the distillation of ardent spirits, and invested their capital in more wholesome and use-

ful pursuits; and upwards of 6,000 persons have abandoned the sale of ardent spirits, and converted their houses and their stock in trade to better purposes.

Sir, these are facts, which speak so loudly, that they need no commentator to expound their meaning. They shew what the force of public opinion has effected in America, in enlisting the Legislature to engage in the work of moral and social reform; and they prove how extensively that reform may be safely and usefully carried, when a people and their rulers cordially co-operate together for the accomplishment of one common end. I ask myself, then, has public opinion yet expressed itself in England, with sufficient power and sufficient intelligence, to deserve legislative aid? Let the answer be seen in the following extract from an official report:—

“The first European Temperance Society was established in 1829, by the exertions of Mr. G. W. Carr, at New Ross, in the south of Ireland; and others were early formed in the north of that island and in Scotland. Their principles have been spread with much zeal and perseverance, and with most cheering success, among the manufacturing population of the north of England; Lancashire and Yorkshire alone, where the earliest efforts were made, containing above 30,000 members. Above 400 Temperance Societies and Associations have been formed in England, including the interesting islands of Guernsey, Jersey, and Man; the whole comprising, according to the latest returns, more than 80,000 members. Scotland, under the direction of the vigorous Committee of the Scottish Society, numbers about 400 Societies, and 54,000 members. In Ireland, notwithstanding numerous disadvantages and difficulties, about 20,000 persons have joined the standard of Temperance Societies.”

At the head of the great Metropolitan Society stands the name of the Bishop of London; followed by nine other prelates of the Established Church, and eight members of the House of Peers. Among the Vice-Presidents of the Society

are six members of the House of Commons, ten admirals, four generals, three physicians, and many more of the clerical, legal, and other liberal professions. At their last anniversary, held only a few days ago, the Bishop of Winchester in the chair, not less than 4,000 persons were present, who manifested the most intense interest in the proceedings. Already have a great number of petitions been laid upon the table of the House during the present session only, signed by persons of the highest respectability, praying the House to institute at least an inquiry into the subject: so that by collecting and arranging the evidence on this notoriously prevalent evil, a Committee might be enabled to suggest for mature consideration, and if approved, for ultimate adoption, such legislative measures as might to them seem best calculated to arrest its future progress, and, if possible, lessen its present amount.

Sir, it is for such a Committee that I now ask; in order that the Legislature, by giving its sanction to the inquiry which is proposed as its first step, may strengthen that public opinion, which, though already loudly expressed on this subject, will be more than doubled in its force by the approbation of the senatorial voice. In that Committee the various suggestions that may arise can be calmly and patiently discussed. The House acceded to the motion of the noble Marquis, the Member for Buckinghamshire (Lord Chandos), during the last Session, for an inquiry into the operations of the Beer Bill, with a view to ascertain whether any and what measures could be devised for the better regulation of the beer-houses in the rural districts; and upon the evidence so obtained the Hon. Member for Kent (Sir Edward Knatchbull) has framed, and passed through a second reading, supported by an immense majority, a Bill for further restricting their privileges, and lessening the amount of the evils they have produced.

Will the House then say, that though the sale and consumption of beer among the thinly-scattered population of the agricultural districts is a fit and proper subject for legislative inquiry and legislative restraint, yet the sale and consumption of ardent spirits in the thickly-peopled towns is too harmless to be disturbed? This would indeed be "straining at the gnat and swallowing the camel." But of such an absurdity as this I will not believe the House to be capable. (*Hear, hear.*)

The objection that is urged against any legislative interference in such a matter as this, I have already partly anticipated and answered, when I have shown that we interfere, and properly so, to prevent, by legislative measures, the spread of disease, and poverty, and crime; and if we believe drunkenness to be injurious to society as a powerful instrument in producing all these, we are perfectly justified in interfering to stay the progress of its devastating influence. The author of the Inquiry, whom I quoted before, has a passage, however, so appropriate to this subject, that I quote it as strengthening greatly the argument in my favour. He says,

"We are aware that there are many who may object to this species of monopoly as a restriction on the freedom of trade; some who consider that the occupation of a publican should be as unfettered as that of a shoemaker, or a tailor, and that the man who had a desire for drink, and the money to pay for it, should have every opportunity of getting drunk, if he has the misfortune to wish it. But let it be recollected, that the very first law of society is, that individuals shall not be permitted to do that, which, although considered beneficial to themselves, may be injurious to the community at large. The statute-book is full of restrictions founded on this principle. No man can continue to work a factory if it be injurious to the health of those around him. A butcher is not permitted to expose for sale unsound meat. A baker is not permitted to sell unwholesome bread, because it is held criminal to place within

the reach of any man, that, the use of which is injurious to him. No man is permitted to keep a public gaming-house, because it is considered criminal even to tempt a man to risk his property, or to provide him with the means of squandering the substance of his family. Nor is any one permitted to have indelicate exhibitions, or to use other temptations to vice. Why, then, should the sale of ardent spirits be unrestricted, when their baneful influence on health and morals is acknowledged? And should it be considered less criminal to tempt a mechanic or a labourer to squander his wages, and to destroy his morals and his health, by the excessive use of spirits, than to do it by any other means?"

As it may be expected of me, however, that I should state more specifically some of the few remedies that I should venture to suggest to the Committee when granted, though their adoption would of course depend on their subsequent approval by them in their Report, and by the House itself, before any enactment could give them the force of law, I will venture to enumerate the principal ones.

First. I should recommend the payment of all wages to be made before ten o'clock in the morning of Saturday, instead of any later period of that day, or even on Friday evening, because the transition from the pay-table to the regular labour of the day, instead of the entertainment of the evening, would in itself be a powerful lessening of the temptation to drink.

Secondly. That workmen should never be paid at any public-house, or place where intoxicating drinks of any kind were sold, whether by their employer or any other person.

Third. To permit no new spirit shops to be established, or old ones to have their licenses renewed, but by the requisition of a considerable number of householders residing within the immediate vicinity of the shop itself, and even

then only on large securities for the good conduct of its keeper.

Fourth. To close all those that do exist, the entire day on Sunday, and at an earlier hour than at present on other days ; and otherwise so to regulate them as to combine the two objects of giving great openness and publicity to their proceedings, and of preventing any protracted stay of the visitors on the premises.

Fifth. To make it imperative on the police, or other officers exercising the duty of guardians or watchmen during the day or night, to apprehend and take to some appointed station for that purpose, all persons found either in the spirit-shops, or in the streets, in a state of intoxication, there to be confined for a limited period, not to be released until restored to sobriety.

The tendency of these restrictions would be to lessen the number of spirit-shops, and, consequently, the number of spirit-drinkers ; and these I should consider the most effective of the immediate checks. If there be any who think that lessening the number and the force of the temptations to crime of any kind, will not lessen the amount of crime committed, it would be in vain to hope for their acquiescence in my views ; though, to be consistent with themselves, they should remove all the restraints of law and police on robbers, murderers, and incendiaries. It has been well said, that there are effects which in their turn become causes, and this is the case with the increased number of spirit-shops : they are, perhaps, at first, the effects of an increased desire for intoxicating drinks, but they soon become causes of increasing the propensity they seek to gratify. Rival establishments endeavour to outvie each other in the number and strength of their allurements ; and thousands are every

day seduced into the vortex of drunkenness, who, but for these allurements and temptations, would never have fallen victims to its destructive power; so that, every new license granted by a Government to a retailer of ardent spirits, is in reality a commission given to that individual, by the supreme authority of the State, to use every art and every stratagem to tempt others of his fellow-men to ruin!

And let it not for a moment be supposed that the lessening the number of the spirit-shops, or the abatement of the consumption of ardent spirits, would be an invasion of the poor man's rights or comforts, or would abridge his pleasures, or lessen his enjoyments. Not to cite the evidence with which American official documents abound, as to the large increase of happiness to the people who had been reclaimed from spirit-drinking, by the diminution of spirit-shops, the cessation of distilleries, and the suspension of the vast machinery of poverty, disease, and crime, I content myself with citing a single passage from the well-known work of Mr. Colquhoun, in his treatise on the "Police of London," the last authority I shall quote. That careful and accurate observer of the condition of the people in this metropolis, says, at p. 328 of his able work,—

"It is a curious and important fact, that during the period when the distilleries were stopped, in 1796 and 1797, although bread, and every necessary of life, was considerably higher than during the preceding year, the poor, in that quarter of the town where the chief part reside, were apparently more comfortable, paid their rents more regularly, and were better fed, than at any period for some years before, even although they had not the benefit of the extensive charities which were distributed in 1795. This can only be accounted for by their being denied the indulgence of gin, which had become, in a great measure, inaccessible from its very high price. It may fairly be concluded, that the money formerly spent in this imprudent manner, had been applied in the purchase of

provisions, and other necessities, to the amount of some hundred thousand pounds. The effect of their being deprived of this baneful liquor, was also evident in their *more orderly conduct, quarrels and assaults were less frequent*, and they resorted seldomer to the pawnbrokers' shops; and yet, during the chief part of this period, bread was 15*d.* the quartern loaf; meat higher than the preceding year, particularly pork, which arose in part from the stoppage of the distilleries, but chiefly from the scarcity of grain."

The Chancellor of the Exchequer may, perhaps, feel some apprehension for the revenue at present derived from so prolific a source as the consumption of ardent spirits, and he may fear to arrest the torrents of drunkenness that desolate the land, lest pecuniary defalcation to the Treasury should result. But let me calm the anxieties of the noble lord on that score. I shall neither propose to increase the duty suddenly and greatly, and so encourage smuggling; nor lessen it in the slightest degree, and so encourage consumption; though I should be disposed to recommend a reduction of the duties on malt, on light French wines, on tea, coffee, and other equally wholesome beverages, to substitute for the pernicious poison of spirits in every shape, the imposts on which might be gradually heightened as the duties on the former were progressively decreased. My object would be, first, to prevent any further increase in the number of houses now devoted to this guilty and destructive traffic; next, gradually to reduce the number as well as the strength of the auxiliary temptations with which these houses now abound; and lastly, to put those that may remain under such wholesome regulations as shall at least abate, if not wholly extirpate, the disease and crime of which they are the present dens. In addition to such present remedies as may be added to meet the present evil, I shall be prepared to show that we might greatly prevent its further spread by establishing adult as well as infant schools, aided by humble museums, and collec-

tions of works of nature and of art, so exciting to rational curiosity, and so powerful in refining the tastes and feelings of the least informed ; as well as by instituting instructive and entertaining lectures on popular branches of knowledge and encouraging the establishment of parish libraries, and district reading-rooms, provided with cheaper and more innocent refreshments than the liquid poison now consumed, so as to afford to the labouring population that opportunity of social meeting and cheap exhilaration which their daily toils entitle as well as prepare them to enjoy ; and afford them opportunities for the development of their mental faculties and moral feelings, by that collision of opinion and interchange of sentiment which, under sober exercise, is a fruitful source of attachment and esteem, but which, under the influence of intoxication, degenerates into bitterness and strife.

All this, Sir, I feel assured, if the Committee for which I ask be granted, we may do, even for the present generation, who deserve our earliest and most immediate care. And when we have stayed the inundating flood, and prevented it from engulfing in its devouring waves the strength and virtue of our land, then may we turn to that rising generation whose tender years call loudly for our paternal care, and, providing for them a system of national and universal instruction, teach them that it is their interest to be sober, industrious, and well-informed, leaving them, prepared with the elements of knowledge at least, to work out this problem for themselves, and to enjoy its demonstration in their own improved condition and augmented happiness, produced by the national tuition wisely and well applied. From such a state of renovated health in the now diseased portion of society, what wealth might we not anticipate ? The Exchequer, instead of being fed on the one hand, as it now is,

by a revenue of four or five millions from the consumption of intoxicating drinks, and drained, on the other, of fifteen or twenty millions for our poor-rates, and hospitals, and gaols, and hulks, and armies, and police—would be receiving, from the consumption of more wholesome and nutritious articles, and from the profits of productive industry, now utterly lost and cast away, a revenue of fifteen or twenty millions on the one hand, and on the other be drained of four or five millions only, for the maintenance of an army of schoolmasters, and an ordnance department of books and materials of instruction to assist the conquests of knowledge over ignorance. These, Sir, are but a portion of the advantages which anticipation shadows forth in the future, if we have but the courage and the virtue to reclaim our unhappy countrymen from the two debasing influences which now weigh them down—ignorance and demoralization. And if we believe that the Supreme Being, whose blessing we invoke on every occasion of our assembling in this House to pursue the solemn duty of legislative improvement, does really hear our prayers, and regard our actions with pleasure or disapprobation, let us be assured that the most acceptable, because the most effective, manner in which we can evince our gratitude to Him for the blessings of health, instruction, and happiness which we enjoy, is to extend those blessings to the greatest number of our fellow-beings, and spread the sunshine of comfort, in which we ourselves are permitted to bask, over those who are now buried in the chilly gloom and deadly darkness of ignorance and intemperance combined.

Believing, therefore, that Parliamentary investigation and legislative measures founded thereon may greatly accelerate the accomplishment of this desirable end, I beg leave to move, in the words of the original resolution,

“That a Select Committee be appointed to inquire into the extent, causes, and consequences of the prevailing vice of Intoxication among the labouring classes of the United Kingdom, in order to ascertain whether any legislative measures can be devised to prevent the further spread of so great a national evil.”

It will be remarked, probably, by many, that the remedies glaneed at and suggested rather than formally proposed in the preceding speech, are very slight, and hardly go beyond the surface of the matter. But those who know the Houses of our Legislature most intimately, are aware how soon the fears of their members are alarmed at any great innovation in anything that has been consecrated in their eyes by time and custom ; and that in asking their assent to the Committee, it was most important not to terrify them by the proposition of extensive changes, especially as these would come with much greater effect when recommended in the Report, with the full sanction of the Committee itself. It may, indeed, be laid down as an axiom—to which the exceptions are very rare—that the success of any measure in either House of Parliament is in the exact ratio of the smallness of the change it proposes. The “bit-by-bit Reform” is that which is always most acceptable to the large majority ; and the smaller these bits are, the more easily are they digested. The noble maxim of Lord Bacon is above the general standard of Parliamentary appreciation, when he says, “A forward retention of custom is as turbulent a thing as innovation ; and they that reverence too much old times, are but a scorn to the new.”

The motion was opposed by Lord Althorp, on the part of the Government, and several others ; but, on a division, after

Mr. Buckingham's reply to the various objections that were urged, it was carried against the Government by 64 against 47 ; the unexpected majority being received with loud cheers ; and the following Committee, in which almost every part of Great Britain and Ireland was represented, was appointed :—

J. S. Buckingham, <i>Sheffield</i> , CHAIR-	Benjamin Hawes, <i>Lambeth</i> .
MAN.	Mr. Alderman Wood, <i>London</i> .
Lord Althorp, Chancellor of Exche-	Mr. Serjeant Lefroy, <i>Dublin</i> .
quer.	J. Ewing, <i>Glasgow</i> .
Sir Robert Peel, Bart., <i>Tamworth</i> .	Lord Sandon, <i>Liverpool</i> .
Alexander Baring, <i>Hampshire</i> .	Mark Philips, <i>Manchester</i> .
Colonel Williams, <i>Ashton</i> .	Sir Charles Burrell, Bart., <i>Sussex</i> .
Sir George Sinclair, Bart., <i>Caithness</i> .	Andrew Johnston, <i>Cupar</i> .
Emerson Tennant, <i>Belfast</i> .	John Fenton, <i>Rochdale</i> .
Philip Howard, <i>Carlisle</i> .	Hall Dare, <i>Essex</i> .
Sir George Strickland, Bt., <i>Yorkshire</i> .	Ivatt Briscoe, <i>Surrey</i> .
Joseph Brotherton, <i>Salford</i> .	Joseph Pease, <i>Durham</i> .
Sir Robert Bateson, Bt., <i>Londonderry</i> .	Thomas Marsland, <i>Stockport</i> .
J. P. Plumptre, <i>Kent</i> .	Edward C. Lister, <i>Bradford</i> .
Henry Halford, <i>Leicestershire</i> .	Edward Baines, <i>Leeds</i> .
Admiral Fleming, <i>Greenwich</i> .	E. Cayley, <i>Yorkshire</i> .
Daniel Gaskell, <i>Wakefield</i> .	Frederick Shaw, <i>Dublin University</i> .
Sir Edward Knatchbull, Bart., <i>Kent</i> .	B. L. Lester, <i>Poole</i> .
W. F. Finn, <i>Kilkenny</i> .	Sir John Maxwell, Bart., <i>Lanarkshire</i> .
J. H. Lloyd, <i>Stockport</i> .	Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart., <i>Wigton</i> .

The List of Witnesses examined by the Committee is given in the next page, and will be found to embrace men of various ranks, professions, and localities, so that their experience was gathered over an extensive range of countries and occupations ; and on the evidence elicited from them, after many days' patient examination, the following Report was agreed to by the Committee, and printed among the Records, by a Vote of the House of Commons.

LIST OF WITNESSES.

ARNOLD, Lieutenant, Royal Navy, serving in many Climates.
 BAGSHAW, Rev. C. F., Chaplain of Salford Gaol, Lancaster.
 BRAIDLEY, BENJAMIN, Boroughreeve of Manchester.
 BRENTON, PELHAM, Capt. R. N., Founder of the Refuge for Juveniles.
 BROOKE, DAVID, Cloth-Dresser, Leeds.
 BROUGHTON, ROBERT E., Police Magistrate of London.
 CAMPBELL, ALEXANDER, Sheriff-Snbsitnte of Renfrewshire.
 CAPPER, SAM., Secretary of the First Temperance Society, London.
 CARR, G. W., Founder of the First Temperance Society in Ireland.
 CHADWICK, EDWIN, Secretary to the Poor-Law Commissioners.
 CHAMBERS, ROBERT JOSEPH, Police Magistrate of London.
 CHEYNE, JOHN, Doctor of Medicine, late Physician General in Ireland.
 COLLINS, WILLIAM, Founder of Temperance Societies in Scotland.
 DAVIS, THOMAS HART, Captain in the Army.
 DODS, ROBERT GREIG, Doctor of Medicine in England and India.
 DUNLOP, JOHN, Author of a Work on the Drinking Usages of Britain.
 ELLIS, ABRAHAM, Working Weaver, of Spitalfields.
 ELLIS, M.D., Resident Physician at the Middlesex Lunatic Asylum.
 EDGAR, Rev. JOHN, D.D., Fonnder of the Temperance Society in Belfast.
 ESTE, MICHAEL LAMBTON, Snrgeon to the First Regiment of Life Guards.
 FARRE, JOHN R., M.D., Practising Physician, Charterhous Square.
 FEARON, H. B., Keeper of one of the largest Gin-shops in Holborn.
 FINCH, JOHN, Proprietor and Manager of large Iron Works at Liverpool.
 FOX, GEORGE TOWNSHEND, Magistrate of the County of Durham.
 GORDON, —, M.D., Physician to the London Hospital.
 GELL, JOHN HENRY, Coroner for Westminster.
 HARTLEY, THOMAS, Secretary to the Temperance Society of London.
 HINTON, JOHN, Eating House Keeper, London.
 HERAPATH, SAMUEL, Working Hatter, London.
 LIVESEY, JOSEPH, Founder of the Total Abstinence Society at Preston.
 LISTER, ELLIS CUNLIFFE, M.P. for Bradford, extensive Manufacturer.
 MOORE, MARK, City Missionary of the London Temperance Society.
 MURRAY, WILLIAM, Iron and Coal Master, Glasgow.
 OUSBY, Rev. ROBERT, Curate of Kirton Lindsey, Lincoln.
 POYNDER, JOHN, one of the Directors of the Middlesex Hospital.
 PLACE, FRANCIS, one of the leading men among the Electors of Westminster.
 PURNELL, CHARLES, Dock Master, Liverpool.
 ROBERTS, THOMAS, Mahogany Broker, London.
 ROBERTS, OWEN OWEN, Surgeon, Carnarvon, North Wales.
 ROWAN, CHARLES, Colonel, and Head of the Metropolitan Police.
 RUELL, Rev. DAVID, Chaplain of the New Prison, Clerkenwell.
 SIMPSON, JOHN, Insurance Broker and General Agent, London.
 SCORESBY, the Rev. W., an early Navigator of the Arctic Seas.
 STANHOPE, the Hon. LEICESTER (now Lord Harrington), Colonel in the Army.
 SAUNDERS, CHARLES, Working Coal Whipper in the River Thames.
 TURNER, JAMES, Operative, Dresser of Cotton Yarn, Manchester.
 TWEELS, JOHN, Esq., Highbury, Magistrate of Middlesex.
 WHITE, ROBERT GUEST, Army Accoutrement Maker, Dublin.
 WHITE, WILLIAM ARMSTRONG, Police Magistrate of London.
 WILSON, GEORGE, Grocer, Overseer of the Poor, Westminster.

PARLIAMENTARY REPORT.

THE SELECT COMMITTEE appointed to inquire into the EXTENT, CAUSES, and CONSEQUENCES of the prevailing vice of INTOXICATION among the LABOURING CLASSES of the United Kingdom, in order to ascertain whether any Legislative Measures can be devised to prevent the further spread of so great a National Evil, and to whom the several Petitions presented to the House were referred, and who were empowered to report the MINUTES of EVIDENCE taken before them from time to time:—HAVE, pursuant to the Order of the House, proceeded to examine a great number and variety of witnesses from different parts of the United Kingdom, and in various ranks and professions of life, and have agreed to the following REPORT:—

I. *Extent of the Evil.*

1. That it appears to your Committee, from the evidence taken before them, that the vice of intoxication has been for some years past on the decline in the higher and middle ranks of society; but has increased within the same period among the labouring classes, and exists at present to a very great extent in the population of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and in the seaport and manufacturing towns, as well as in the agricultural districts, including in its victims, men, women, and even children.

II. *Remote Causes of its Production.*

2. That among the remote causes of the intemperance which still prevails, may be enumerated, the influence of example set by the upper classes of society, when habits of

intoxication were more frequent in such ranks than among their inferiors in station ; and the many customs and courtesies still retained from a remote ancestry of mingling the gift or use of intoxicating drinks with almost every important event in life, such as the celebration of baptisms, marriages, and funerals, anniversaries, holidays, and festivals, as well as in the daily interchange of convivial entertainments, and even in the commercial transactions of purchase and sale.

III. *Immediate Causes of its Extension.*

3. That among the immediate causes of the increased prevalence of this vice among the humbler classes of society may be mentioned, the increased number and force of the temptations placed in their daily path, by the additional establishment of places at which intoxicating drinks are sold, the number now being considered, from the average of several districts in England, Scotland, and Ireland, to be not less than one such place to about every twenty families throughout the United Kingdom ; and the increased facilities of obtaining the dangerous gratification of the moment which these afford, by the reduction in the duty on legally distilled spirits ; by the reduction in the price, occasioned by admixtures with this of illegally distilled spirits ; by the additional allurements presented by every new competitor who seeks to present more powerful attraction to visitors ; and by the very small sums, less even than a penny, for which drams of intoxicating drinks can now be procured.

IV. *Consequences to Individual Character.*

4. That the consequences of the vice of intoxication among the humbler classes, and the prevalence of intemperate habits,

and pernicious customs encouraging such habits among the middle and higher ranks, are so many and so fearful to contemplate, that it is as difficult as it is painful to enumerate even the outlines of them; and to pursue them in all their melancholy and fatal details would require a volume.

5. That the following are only a few of the evils directly springing from this baneful source :

6. Destruction of health ; disease in every form and shape ; premature decrepitude in the old ; stunted growth and general debility and decay in the young ; loss of life by paroxysms, apoplexies, drownings, burnings, and accidents of various kinds ; delirium tremens, one of the most awful afflictions of humanity ; paralysis, idiotey, madness, and violent death, as proved by numerous medical witnesses, who have made this the subject of their long and careful investigation.

7. Destruction of mental capacity and vigour, and extinction of aptitude for learning, as well as of disposition for practising any useful art or industrious occupation.

8. Irritation of all the worst passions of the heart : hatred, anger, revenge ; with a brutalisation of disposition that breaks asunder and destroys the most endearing bonds of nature and society.

9. Extinction of all moral and religious principle, disregard of truth, indifference to education, violation of chastity, insensibility to shame, and indescribable degradation ; as proved by clergymen, magistrates, overseers, teachers, and others, examined by your Committee on all these points.

V. *Consequences to National Welfare.*

10. That in a national point of view, as affecting the wealth, resources, strength, honour, and prosperity of the

country, the consequences of intoxication and intemperate habits among the people, are as destructive of the general welfare of a community as they are fatal to the happiness of individuals. Among others, the following evils may be distinctly traced:—

11. The destruction of an immense amount of wholesome and nutritious grain, given by a bountiful Providence for the food of man, which is now converted by distillation into a poison; the highest medical authorities, examined in great numbers before your Committee, being uniform in their testimony that ardent spirits are absolutely poisonous to the human constitution; that in no case whatever are they necessary, or even useful, to persons in health; that they are always, in every case and to the smallest extent, deleterious, pernicious, or destructive, according to the proportions in which they may be taken into the system; so that not only is an immense amount of human food destroyed, whilst thousands are inadequately fed, but this food is destroyed in such a manner as to injure greatly the agricultural producers themselves, for whose grain, but for this perverted and mistaken use of it, there would be more than twice the present demand, for the use of the now scantily fed people, who would then have healthy appetites to consume, and improved means to purchase, nutriment for themselves and children, in grain, as well as in all the other varied productions of the earth.

12. The loss of productive labour in every department of occupation, to the extent of at least one day in six throughout the kingdom (as testified by witnesses engaged in various manufacturing operations), by which the wealth of the country, created as it is chiefly by labour, is retarded or suppressed to the extent of one million out of every six that is

produced; to say nothing of the constant derangement, imperfection, and destruction in every agricultural and manufacturing process occasioned by the intemperance, and consequent unskilfulness, inattention, and neglect of those affected by intoxication, producing great injury in our domestic and foreign trade.

13. The extensive loss of property by sea, from shipwrecks, founderings, fires, and innumerable other accidents, many of which, according to the evidence of the most experienced ship-owners, nautical men and others, examined by your Committee, are clearly traceable to drunkenness in some of the parties employed in the navigation and charge of such vessels, whose vigilance, had they been sober, would have been sufficient safeguards against their occurrence..

14. The comparative inefficiency of the Navy and Army, in both of which, according to the testimony of eminent naval and military officers examined by your Committee, intemperance is a canker-worm that eats away its strength and its discipline to the very core; it being proved, beyond all question, that one-sixth of the effective strength of the navy, and a much greater proportion of the army, is as much destroyed as if the men were slain in battle, by that most powerful ally of death—intoxicating drinks; and that in the greater number of accidents occurring in both branches of the service, seven-eighths of the sickness, invalidings and discharges for incapacity, and nine-tenths of all the acts of insubordination, and the fearful punishments and executions to which these give rise, are to be ascribed to drunkenness alone.

15. The injury to national reputation abroad, by the intemperate habits of our soldiers and seamen, the excesses committed by them in foreign ports, where they form the largest class of British subjects usually met with, and from whose

conduct erroneous and injurious impressions are formed of the character of the nation to which they belong, as testified by the evidence of shipmasters, merchants, and others, given before your Committee; as well as the direct and immediate contamination and injury of sober races of men in new and uncivilised countries visited, for the first time, by our ships, many of which leave no traces of their visit behind them but the vice of drunkenness, first introduced there by their crews.

16. The diminution of the physical power and longevity of a large portion of the British population, by the destructive effects already described, as produced on individuals, the loss of personal beauty, the decline of health, and the progressive decay of the bodily and mental powers; which evils are accumulative in the amount of injury they inflict, as intemperate parents, according to high medical testimony, give a taint to their offspring even before their birth, and the poisonous stream of ardent spirits is conveyed through the milk of the mother to the infant at the breast; so that the fountain of life, through which nature supplies that pure and healthy nutriment of infancy, is poisoned at its very source, and a diseased and vitiated appetite is thus created, which grows with its growth, and strengthens with its increasing weakness and decay.

17. The increase of pauperism, in its most fearful shape, divested of that sense of shame which would disdain to receive relief whilst honest industry could secure the humblest independence, and associated with a disregard of consequences, and a recklessness of all obligations, domestic or social, which, according to the evidence of witnesses from the agricultural districts examined by your Committee, has converted the pauper from a grateful receiver of aid under

unavoidable calamity (which was once the general character of those receiving parish relief), to an idle and disorderly clamourer for the right of being sustained by the industry of others, or a profligate and licentious parent of illegitimate offspring.

18. The spread of crime in every shape and form, from theft, fraud, and prostitution in the young, to burnings, robberies, and more hardened offences in the old ; by which the gaols and prisons, the hulks and convict transports, are filled with inmates, and an enormous mass of human beings who, under sober habits and moral training, would be sources of wealth and strength to the country, are transformed, chiefly through the remote or immediate influence of intoxicating drinks, into excrescences of corruption and weakness, which must be cut off and cast away from the community to prevent the gangrenous contamination of its whole frame, leaving the body itself in a constant state of that inflammatory excitement which always produces exhaustion and weakness in the end ; and thus causing the country to sacrifice every year a larger portion of blood and treasure than the most destructive wars occasion ; the innocent population thus made criminal being, like the grain subjected to distillation, converted from a wholesome source of strength and prosperity, into a poisoned issue of weakness and decay.

19. The retardation of all improvement, inventive or industrial, civil or political, moral or religious ; the hindering of education, the weakening of good example, and the creation of constant and increasing difficulties in the propagation of the sound morality and sublime truths of the Gospel, both at home and abroad, according to the testimony of teachers, pastors, and others examined by your Committee ; the sum expended in intoxicating drinks in the city of Glasgow alone

being stated by one of the witnesses from that neighbourhood to be nearly equal to the whole amount expended on public institutions of charity and benevolence in the United Kingdom.

20. That the mere pecuniary loss to the nation from the several causes already enumerated, namely, the destruction of an immense amount of grain subjected to distillation, the abstraction of productive labour from the community, the property destroyed by sea and land, the diminished efficiency of the navy and army, the disease and deterioration of the physical and mental powers of the population, the increase of pauperism, the spread of crime, and the retardation of improvement caused by the excessive use of intoxicating drinks, may be fairly estimated at little short of fifty millions sterling per annum.

VI. *Remedies to be applied.*

21. That the remedies to be applied to the cure of evils so deeply rooted, so long established, so widely spread, and so strongly supported by selfish indulgence, ignorance, prejudice, custom, and pecuniary interest, are two-fold ; first legislative, and secondly moral ; and these again divide themselves into immediate and prospective.

22. That the *right* to exercise legislative interference for the correction of any evil which affects the public weal, cannot be questioned, without dissolving society into its primitive elements, and going back from the combined and co-operative state of civilisation, with all its wholesome and lawfully imposed restraints, to the isolated and lawless condition of savage and solitary nature.

23. That the *power* to apply correction by legislative

means cannot be doubted, without supposing the sober, the intelligent, the just, and the moral portion of the community unable to control the excesses of the ignorant and disorderly, which would be to declare our incapacity to maintain the first principles of Government by ensuring the public safety.

24. That the *sound policy* of applying legislative power to direct, restrain, or punish, as the cases may require, the vicious and contaminating propensities of the evil-disposed, cannot be disputed, without invalidating the right of Government to protect the innocent from the violence of the guilty, which would in effect declare all government to be useless, and all lawful authority to be without any intelligible object or end; an admission that would undermine the very first principles of society.

VII. *Immediate Remedies, Legislative and Moral.*

25. The remedies which appear to your Committee to be desirable and practicable to be put into immediate operation may be thus enumerated :—

26. The separation of the houses in which intoxicating drinks are sold, into four distinct classes : 1st. Houses for the sale of beer only—not to be consumed on the premises : 2nd. Houses for the sale of beer only—to be consumed on the premises, and in which refreshments of food may also be obtained : 3rd. Houses for the sale of spirits only—not to be consumed on the premises : 4th. Houses for the accommodation of strangers and travellers, where bed and board may be obtained, and in which spirits, wine, and beer, may all be sold.

27. The limiting the number of such houses, of each class, in proportion to population in towns, and to distances and

population in country districts ; the licenses for each to be annual, and granted by magistrates and municipal authorities rather than by the Excise ; to be chargeable with larger sums annually than are now paid for them, especially for the sale of spirits ; and the keepers of such houses to be subject to progressively increasing fines for disorderly conduct, and forfeiture of license and closing up of the houses for repeated offences.

28. The closing of all such houses at earlier hours in the evening than at present, and uniformly with each other, excepting only in the last class of houses for travellers, which may be opened at any hour for persons requiring food or beds in the dwelling.

29. The first and second class of houses in which beer only is sold, to be closed on the Sabbath-day, except for one hour in the afternoon and one hour in the evening, to admit of families being supplied with beer at those periods ; the third class of houses, where spirits only are sold, to be entirely closed during the whole of the Sabbath-day ; and the fourth class, as inns or hotels, to be closed to all visitors on that day, excepting only to travellers and inmates of the dwelling.

30. The making all retail spirit-shops as open to public view as other shops where wholesome provisions are sold, such as those of the baker, the butcher, and the fishmonger, in order that the interior of such spirit-shops may be seen from without, and be constantly exposed to public inspection in every part.

31. The refusal of retail spirit licenses to all but those who would engage to confine themselves exclusively to dealing in that article ; and, consequently, the entire separation, in England, Scotland, and Ireland, of the retail sale of spirits from groceries, provisions, wine or beer, excepting only in the

fourth class of houses, as inns or hotels, for travellers and inmates or lodgers, as before described.

32. The discontinuance of all issues of ardent spirits (except as medicine, under the direction of the medical officers) to the navy and army, on all stations, and to every other body of men employed by or under the control of the Government, and the substitution of other articles of wholesome nutriment and refreshment instead. The abolition of all garrison and barrack canteens, at home and abroad, and the substitution of some other and better mode of filling up the leisure of men confined within military forts and lines; the opinions of most of the military officers examined on this point by your Committee being, that the drinking in such canteens is the most fertile source of all insubordination, crime, and consequent punishment inflicted on the men.

33. The withholding from the ships employed in the merchant service the drawback granted to them on foreign spirits, by which they are now enabled to ship their supplies of that article at a reduced scale of duty, and are thus induced to take on board a greater quantity than is necessary, to the increased danger of the property embarked and to the injury of the crew.

34. The prohibition of the practice of paying the wages of workmen at public-houses, or any other place where intoxicating drinks are sold.

35. The providing for the payment of such wages to every individual his exact amount, except when combined in families: so as to render it unnecessary for men to frequent the public-houses, and spend a portion of their earnings to obtain change.

36. The payment of wages at or before the breakfast hour

in the mornings of the principal market-day in each town, to enable the wives or other providers of workmen to lay out their earnings in necessary provisions at an early period of the market, instead of risking its dissipation at night in the public-house.

37. The prohibition of the meetings of all friendly societies, sick clubs, money clubs, masonic lodges, or any other permanent associations of mutual benefit and relief at public houses, or places where intoxicating drinks are sold ; as such institutions, when not formed expressly for the benefit of such public-houses, and when they are *bona fide* associations of mutual help in the time of need, can, with far more economy and much greater efficacy, rent and occupy for their periodical meetings equally appropriate rooms in other places.

38. The establishment, by the joint aid of the Government and the local authorities and residents on the spot, of public walks and gardens, or open spaces for athletic and healthy exercises in the open air, in the immediate vicinity of every town, of an extent and character adapted to its population ; and of district and parish libraries, museums, and reading rooms, accessible at the lowest rate of charge ; so as to admit of one or the other being visited in any weather, and at any time ; with the rigid exclusion of all intoxicating drinks of every kind from all such places, whether in the open air or elosed.

39. The reduction of the duty on tea, coffee, and sugar, and all the healthy and unintoxicating articles of drink in ordinary use ; so as to place within the reach of all classes the least injurious beverages on much cheaper terms than the most destructive.

40. The encouragement of Temperance Societies in every

town and village of the kingdom, the only bond of association being a voluntary engagement to abstain from the use of ardent spirits, as a customary drink, and to discourage, by precept and example, all habits of intemperance in themselves and others.

41. The diffusion of sound information as to the extensive evils produced to individuals and to the State by the use of any beverage that destroys the health, cripples the industry, and poisons the morals of its victims.

42. The institution of every subordinate auxiliary means of promoting the reformation of all such usages, courtesies, habits, and customs of the people, as lead to intemperate habits; more especially the exclusion of ardent spirits from all places where large numbers are congregated either for business or pleasure, and the changing the current opinion, that such spirits are wholesome and beneficial (which the frequent practice of our offering them to those whom we wish to please or reward so constantly fosters and prolongs) into the more correct opinion that they are a most pernicious evil, which should on all occasions be avoided, as destructive of the health, the morals, and the peace of society.

43. The removal of all taxes on knowledge, and the extending every facility to the widest spread of useful information to the humblest classes of the community.

44. A national system of education, which should ensure the means of instruction to all ranks and classes of the people, and which, in addition to the various branches of requisite and appropriate knowledge, should embrace, as an essential part of the instruction given by it to every child in the kingdom, accurate information as to the poisonous and invariably deleterious nature of ardent spirits, as an article of diet, in any form or shape; and the inculcation of a sense of shame, at the

crime of voluntarily destroying, or thoughtlessly obscuring that faculty of reasoning, and that consciousness of responsibility, which chiefly distinguish man from the brute, and which his Almighty Maker, when he created him in his own image, implanted in the human race to cultivate, to improve, and to refine—and not to corrupt, to brutalise, and to destroy.

VIII. *Ultimate or Prospective Remedies.*

45. The ultimate or prospective remedies which have been strongly urged by several witnesses, and which they think, when public opinion shall be sufficiently awakened to the great national importance of the subject, may be safely recommended, include the following:—

46. The absolute prohibition of the importation from any foreign country, or from our own colonies, of distilled spirits in any shape.

47. The equally absolute prohibition of all distillation of ardent spirits from grain, the most important part of the food of man in our own country.

48. The restriction of distillation from other materials, to the purposes of the arts, manufactures, and medicine; and the confining the wholesale and retail dealing in such articles to chemists, druggists, and dispensaries alone.

IX. *Examples of other Countries.*

49. Your Committee have, in the course of their investigations, directed their inquiries, as to the steps taken and effects produced by legislative and by moral means, in Ame-

rica more especially, and they have been gratified to learn the following facts :—

50. That in the American navy and army, the issue of spirits by the Government has been discontinued, and nutritious articles of equal value substituted, with benefit and contentment to all parties.

51. That no less than 700 vessels in the merehant service now sail from different ports in America, and to all climates, arctie and tropical, with no ardent spirits on board, excepting only a small quantity in the medicine chest for oecasional medicinal use.

52. That of the American ships entering the port of Liverpool, nine out of every ten are navigated on what are denominated Temperance principles,—the captain, officers, and crew agreeing to abstain from the use of spirits, except as medicine, and no supply beyond the very limited quantity used as such being taken for the voyage.

53. That such ships obtain freights in preference to English vessels not navigated on those principles, in consequence of the public conviction of their greater safety, from the sobriety of those on board.

54. That some English vessels have recently been fitted out and sent to sea from London, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Greenock, in imitation of the Americans; that they have been insured at a lower rate of premium than that paid on other vessels not so abstaining from taking spirits on board; and that experienced merchants, shipowners, insurance brokers, and others, examined before your Committee, express their conviction that such abatement in the rate of insurance in such ships is fully warranted by the actual diminution of the risk of injury and loss.

55. That in the metropolis of the United States, the highest encouragement has been given to the promotion of Temperance Societies ; and, from the conjoint efforts of public and private individuals, so great a reformation has been effected, that throughout the Union, no less than two thousand persons have voluntarily abandoned the distillation of ardent spirits, and vested their capital in other and more wholesome pursuits ; and upwards of six thousand persons have abandoned the sale of ardent spirits, and embraced other and more useful occupations.

X. Concluding Suggestions.

56. Your Committee, deeply impressed with the long catalogue of evils which they have endeavoured thus briefly and faintly to describe, and feeling the strongest and most earnest desire to lessen their number and amount, humbly venture to suggest to the House the importance of drawing the attention of his Majesty's Government to the immediate introduction of such improvements as your Committee have respectfully recommended in the navy and army, and in the ships employed in the merchant service ; to the causing such other ameliorations to be made in this respect, as can be effected by their authority, wherever that may extend ; and to the public declaration of their determination to introduce, early in the ensuing Session, some general and comprehensive law, for the progressive diminution and ultimate suppression of all the existing facilities and means of intemperance, as the root and parent of almost every other vice.

57. As your Committee are fully aware that one of the most important elements in successful legislation is the obtaining the full sanction and support of public opinion in favour of the laws,—and as this is most powerful and most enduring

when based on careful investigation and accurate knowledge as the result, they venture still further to recommend the most extensive circulation, during the recess, under the direct sanction of the Legislature, of an abstract of the evidence obtained by this inquiry, in a cheap and portable volume, as was done with the Poor Law Report, to which it would form the best auxiliary,—the national cost of intoxication and its consequences being tenfold greater in amount than that of the poor rates,—pauperism itself being indeed chiefly caused by habits of intemperance, of which it is but one out of many melancholy and fatal results.

OPPOSITION TO THE PRINTING OF THE REPORT.

It is worthy of remark that when this Report had to be presented to the House, as the result of the labours of the Committee, and to be printed for distribution with the ordinary Parliamentary Papers among the members, so that all might see the Evidence on which it was founded, as well as the Report itself, the late Daniel O'Connell, backed by a considerable party, raised an objection to its being printed, on the ground "that its publication would reflect discredit on the House of Commons, and be calculated, from its absurdity, to bring the Legislature of the kingdom into contempt." A debate on this question, whether the Evidence and Report should be printed or not, was got up, and the opponents mustered all their forces against it, especially those members, of which Mr. O'Connell was one, who had many wealthy distillers, brewers, and wine and spirit merchants and dealers, among their constituents. The question was, however,

referred to the Speaker, Mr. Abererombie (now Lord Dunfermline), to determine whether a case had ever occurred in which a Committee, appointed by the House for a specific inquiry, had been refused permission to have its Evidence and Report printed; to which the Speaker replied, that as far as his knowledge and recollection extended, no such case had ever arisen, nor could it be for a moment entertained, if it had; because the Committee were ordered by the resolution of Parliament, affirmed by a majority, to "take Evidence and report their opinion thereupon to the House," so that their duty would not be completed till the Evidence and Report should be printed, as it was in this mode only that the House at large could become acquainted with the same. The opposition, nevertheless, persisted in a division, but were defeated by a much larger majority than that by which the motion itself was carried.

It was the more remarkable that Mr. O'Connell should have been the person to raise this opposition, as no man in the House was better acquainted than himself with the fact that spirit-drinking had been the bane of his countrymen, and he had practical proof of the power of putting a stop to this practice when his own interests were concerned, and reaping the full benefit of their abstinence. The case was this:—

Mr. O'Connell, when he determined to become elected member for the county of Clare, before the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, and before he could be legally admitted into the House of Commons, had issued an address to the electors and their friends, entreating them not to permit a single drop of whisky to enter their lips from the day of the issue of the writ, till the day of the close of the poll, and his final return as the elected member for the county.

His long experience of the habits of his countrymen had

taught him that the chief, if not the sole cause of the dreadful scenes of riot and disorder which characterized Irish elections, as well as Irish wakes and fairs, was drinking intoxicating drinks; and that if they could but be dissuaded from this, they would be as peaceable and orderly as the people of any other nation. He must have known quite as well, too, that the habit of drinking was the principal cause,—in the waste of money and the waste of time to which it led—of the poverty and rags by which an Irish multitude was usually characterized.

In order to secure his election, therefore, and to free it from all chance of failure, by the existence of any riot or disorder, he entreated the people not to touch the poisonous and intoxicating draught. The friends who organized and conducted the election steadily enforced this abstinence, and the result was, that the conduct of the populace, for the many days over which the contest then extended, was more peaceable and orderly than had ever been known, in England, Scotland, or Ireland, where such periods have always been characterized by the most unbridled intemperance and loss of life and property, while the greatest corruption of the public morals has been the constant result.

Seeing the success of this experiment, it might have been hoped that Mr. O'Connell would have profited by it to use his great influence with the Irish people to make the experiment of the Clare Election a permanent rule of conduct, instead of a temporary one; and to ask all Ireland to imitate, not for a season only, but perpetually, the example of the sober electors of Clare. But the time had not yet come either for himself or the people of Ireland to see the importance of such a change: as he not only failed to press the subject further upon their attention when the end of his election was answered,

but, on a subsequent occasion, having a wish to use his influence to put an end to the factious fights that disgraced almost every large meeting of his countrymen, he addressed to them a public letter, through the newspapers, entreating them not to continue this foolish and destructive practice, and studiously omitted all allusion to that *antecedent habit of drinking whisky*, which he must have known was the sole cause of these factious fights ; because, on withdrawing this stimulating and exciting cause at Clare, not a single fight had taken place. I therefore thought it my duty to address him a public letter, which, as its reasonings and conclusions are as applicable to England as to Ireland, and may serve to awaken public attention to the chief obstacle to the welfare of the humbler classes of society in every part of our own country, may be repeated here. It was as follows :—

“ SIR,—I have read, with great pleasure, your excellent advice to the peasantry of Ireland, intreating them to abstain from those fights and brawls which have been unhappily so frequent among them at their wakes and fairs ; and I trust that the reasons which you offer in support of your advice will have that effect which their clearness and their cogency are calculated to produce. In reading your address, however, I was forcibly struck by the fact of your not advertng, in the slightest degree, to the most potent *cause* of these fights and brawls, of which it is impossible that you should be wholly ignorant. As a Radical Reformer in all other matters, I was led to expect that you would have gone to the *root of the evil* in this, and that you would have discovered the most powerfully operating of all the causes of these fights and brawls to be the prevalent and pernicious habit of whisky-drinking, in which so great a number of the Irish peasantry indulge. If you had commenced your advice to them, therefore, with these few words, ‘ *Drink no whisky ;*’ and had added, in one of those short and pithy sentences, which you know so well how to pen, your reasons for this advice, namely, ‘ That the distillation of whisky from grain, is a conversion of that which the bounty of Providence has supplied as wholesome

food, into a poisonous and intoxicating drink; that this drink destroys the reason, inflames the passions, undermines the strength, wastes the health, interrupts the industry, exhausts the means, and ruins equally the constitution and the character of its victims; and that to the devastating influence of this all-pervading habit of whisky-drinking is to be attributed the largest portion of the mendicity, pauperism, disease, insanity, riot, and crime, that still afflict your native country,' you would have struck more effectually at the *root* of the evil, than you appear to me now to have done.

"Lest I might be supposed myself to take an exaggerated view of this subject, let me recall your attention to some few authenticated and undoubted facts, which will set the matter in the clearest point of view:—1st. That the enormous sum of more than £6,000,000 sterling per annum is spent in Ireland in whisky; a sum which, if saved from this expenditure, and applied in furnishing labour to the able-bodied, and relief to the helpless, would be sufficient to remove nearly the whole of the evils under which the poor of Ireland are now labouring: this sum being considerably more than the whole amount expended for the relief of the poor in England and Scotland, the united population of which is more than double that of Ireland.—2ndly. That in almost every part of Ireland, the places for the sale of whisky are so numerous, that fifteen or twenty of these will be found for one place for the sale of bread; that in Clonmel, with a population of 15,000 souls, £50,000 had been expended in whisky in the year 1833; that in Waterford, with a population of 30,000 souls, upwards of £100,000 had been expended on the same poison within the same period; while, in the larger towns of Cork, Limerick, Dublin, and Belfast, the same proportion of expenditure to population, in this pernicious drink, takes place.

"That some of the most distinguished of the prelates of your own Church have been as deeply sensible of the extent of this evil, as I confess myself to be, you must, I think, be well aware of. But to others, less well informed upon the state of Ireland than yourself, it may not be unacceptable to adduce a few extracts from a letter of the late Rev. Dr. Doyle, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kildare, addressed to the Secretary of the New Ross Temperance Society, and dated Carlow, Dec. 29, 1829, which will be found in the Par-

liamentary Evidence presented to the House of Commons in 1834. The Reverend Bishop says—

“ ‘Every Christian, indeed every man endowed with reason, whether he be or whether he be not a Christian, must look upon drunkenness and excessive drinking as one of the most debasing and hateful vices which infest the human kind : it stupefies and brutalizes men ; and as to women, it reduces their condition far below that of the brute. In towns where the vice of excessive drinking chiefly prevails, you have opposed to you all the drunkards, all the publicans, all the grocers who sell whisky, all the brewers, all the distillers, with the wits and idlers who appertain to them. To eradicate the use of ardent spirits out of a country having such a climate as ours, and *from among such a people as ours*, is impossible ; but to *diminish* the use of ardent spirits to ONE-FIFTIETH PART OF ITS PRESENT AMOUNT is, in my opinion, *perfectly practicable*. Rash swearing, profanation of the Lord’s day, blasphemies without number, the poverty, the nakedness, the destitution, the ruin of families ; the frauds, the thefts, the robberies ; the seduction of innocence, the corruption of virtue ; the disobedience of children, the infidelities of servants, the discords and disunion of those whom God united ; these, and many others which I do not name, are the effects of drinking and of drunkenness, which I deplore. I am ready to co-operate in the establishment and support of any measure, whose object is to preserve the dominion of reason over passion, and to aid virtue in her warfare against vice. If the societies of tradesmen, which are found in almost every town, could be induced to adopt, as a rule or regulation, *abstinence from ardent spirits*, or even a temperate use of them, if such be possible, much good would result to themselves therefrom. Great numbers of tradesmen are notoriously addicted to extreme drinking. They might be comfortable and happy—they are now poor and miserable ; they might be virtuous and respectable—they are now vicious and despised. Sobriety would enable them to provide for their children, and to lay up some subsistence for their own helpless age ; but drunkenness leaves the children destitute, and sends themselves, through want and misery, to a premature grave ; and, after a life of drunkenness, who can accompany them, even in a thought, to that tribunal which is beyond the grave ?’

“You will, I am sure, excuse the length of these extracts—though I have abridged them as much as possible—from your just respect to the excellent character and high authority of the reverend prelate of your own Church by whose pen they were traced. That you entertain an almost equal degree of repugnance to the practice of excessive drinking, I am quite willing to believe; because your own habits are known to be extremely temperate,—and because you have been heard to express yourself favourably towards this practice in others. The only question then, that remains to be asked, is this—Would the more formal and authoritative expression of your convictions on this point, and the publication of your advice to the Irish peasantry, *to abstain from drinking whisky*, as the best method not merely of avoiding the fights and brawls which you denounce, but the long train of other ills enumerated by the venerable Dr. Doyle, be productive of any public good? Every one who hears the question asked, will unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative.”

To this letter I never received any reply: but I had the satisfaction of seeing, not long after this, that Mr. O’Connell had enrolled himself in the ranks of the Temperance Reformation, and become one of its most zealous and powerful advocates.

The recommendation contained in the closing paragraph of the above Report was not suffered to remain a dead letter. In conformity with its terms, I waited on the Speaker, Mr. Abercrombie, to ask whether permission could be granted by him to reprint both the Evidence and Report in a moderate-sized volume, at a cheap price, for general circulation: when he replied that he had not the power to grant such permission; it could only be had by a vote of the House; and it would be a breach of privilege for any individual, whether a member or not, to print it without. But, he added that, after the opposition raised to printing the Report even for the information of the House itself, he did not think it would be prudent to raise the question of its being printed in any other form for general circulation.

I deemed it so important, however, to the promotion of the Temperance cause to have this Evidence and Report as widely circulated as possible, that I took upon myself all the responsibility of the breach of Parliamentary privileges; and had the whole printed in a series of cheap weekly numbers, forming ultimately an octavo volume of 600 pages, and sold for five shillings. The following is the Preface with which it was introduced and defended :

“ 1. In bringing before the British public, in this cheap and popular form, the great body of Evidence on the extent, causes, and consequences of Drunkenness,—which is at present confined to the Records of Parliament, and in that shape accessible but to a few,—the only motive of those who voluntarily charge themselves with this labour is, to make the whole community as thoroughly acquainted with the subject as the members of Parliament themselves: to introduce, indeed, every reader of these pages into the Committee room of the House of Commons, and enable him, without the trouble of a daily attendance, to be present at the examinations, and to hear, judge, and determine for himself.

“ 2. When the proposition was first made in Parliament to make the intemperate habits of the people—and the causes and consequences of general indulgence in these habits—the subject of legislative inquiry, it was received with derision: and when the noble lord, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, was first asked by a deputation from Ireland to give his sanction to such an inquiry, he expressed his doubts whether, if it were even moved for by any one member, a single other person in all the House could be found to second it—as, in his opinion, a proposition to turn St. Stephen’s Chapel inside out, would be just as likely to meet support.

“ 3. As the Chancellor of the Exchequer is not destitute of

benevolence, nor unwilling to consider of the best means of promoting the happiness of the people, this extreme misconception of the importance of instituting a Legislative Inquiry on Drunkenness and its effects, can only be attributed to the fact of his attention never having been before directed to the subject. Nor was he singular in this respect: for the first hundred of the petitions presented to the House of Commons, praying for such legislative inquiry, with a view to devise a remedy, were received with a levity that showed a want of acquaintance with the subject to be almost universal among the members of that body.

“4. At length the petitions became so frequent, were so ably expressed, and so numerous and respectably signed, that those who presented and those who received them began to think there must be something more in the subject than they had at first conceived. When the discussion upon the motion came on in the House, therefore, the facts disclosed respecting the evils of Drunkenness were so striking, and the arguments in favour of legislative inquiry so unanswerable, that the motion was carried by a majority of 64 against 47.

“5. Even then, when the Committee was appointed, there were many of its members who did not deem the inquiry of sufficient importance to deserve their attendance; and others who entered upon the investigation with feelings of doubt as to any beneficial results arising from their labours. Day after day, however, made those who did attend acquainted with so many new and important facts, that every day added to the number of converts to the opinion that legislative inquiry had been wisely ordered, and that legislative remedies could not be applied too soon.

“6. The labours of the Committee were continued with great assiduity through the whole of the remaining portion

of the session, and closed only with the close of the session itself. The witnesses included gentlemen of various ranks and professions in life, and from every quarter of the United Kingdom ; and it is believed that such a body of Evidence on the habits, manners, and state of society, as connected with the great object of the inquiry, was never before submitted to the Legislature.

“7. But it is as important that this Evidence should be made known to the public at large as to their representatives : for it is they, after all, who are to influence the conduct of the Legislature by the expression of public opinion ; and as it can only be placed within the reach of any large portion of the community by the mode now adopted of issuing it in sections or numbers, at a price which will bring it within the reach of all the educated classes—it is believed that no greater service can be rendered to the cause of humanity, than by circulating this Evidence in every city, town, village, hamlet—and, if possible, in every dwelling of the land.

“8. The Speech delivered by the mover of the question, though very briefly reported in most of the newspapers, excited so much attention in the country, that a revised report of it was generally called for ; and, in conformity with this desire, the verbatim edition of that Speech, as reported in the *Mirror of Parliament*, was reprinted in London, and subsequently, by permission, in various parts of the country ;—from all which editions it is ascertained that upwards of *a million of copies* have been already sold ; while, in several instances, public meetings were held in the provinces at which the Speech was read aloud to many thousands of hearers, and resolutions passed in conformity to its views.

“9. The Evidence, which it is now proposed to publish, will be found to bear out the anticipations of that Speech in almost

every particular; and the Report is founded on the Evidence alone. At the close of this, both the Speech and the Report will be given, with a copious Index of reference to every material fact and opinion embodied by the Committee in the Report itself,—so as to form, when completed, a volume that shall lay powerful claim to the attention of every Christian, and every lover of his country, who desires to see the stain of Drunkenness wiped away from our national reputation.”

The Report was speedily circulated in the United States of America and the British Provinces by millions more, and soon found its way to India and our remotest colonies—to France, Germany, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden—in all of which countries it was printed in their native languages;—though, on its first publication in England, the *Times*, in a leading article expressly devoted to the subject, gave it, as its deliberate conviction, that the mover of the Committee, and, as chairman, the author of the Report, was a fit subject for a lunatic asylum!—thus harmonising with the opinion of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had before pronounced him to have “a bee in his bonnet,” the Scottish figure for a madman. By many members of the House it was called, in ridicule, “the Report of the Drunken Committee,” and perhaps no subject ever passed through such an ordeal of contempt and vituperation as this endeavour to discover the sources of all the evil and suffering which habits of intoxication produced in the community, and, if possible, to lessen its amount; for this was the sole end and aim of all our labours.

In spite of all opposition, however, the cause gained strength every year in every quarter. In America, which I visited in 1837, and travelled through every part of its vast extent from 1837 to 1841, every city, town, and village had

its Temperance Society. I was invited to deliver addresses on the subject in almost every Church and of every denomination. The Hall of Congress was placed at my disposal for this purpose at Washington, and the audience was composed of the President, Cabinet Ministers, and Members of both Houses of the American Legislature; while, in Quebec, the Parliament House was opened to me for the same purpose by the Governor General, Lord Sydenham; and assembled thousands, in open fields, and groves, and gardens, in Sailors' Homes, crowded steam boats, and capacious theatres, as well as at public banquets, in town halls, concert rooms, and private mansions, evinced their interest and their zeal, not merely by attending and voting resolutions, but by raising more than 100,000 dollars in voluntary contributions, to aid the progress of Temperance, or Total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks; for all the existing Societies had now assumed this form.

Mr. E. C. Delavan and the Rev. Dr. Marsh, of New York; Mr. John Tappan and Dr. Channing, of Boston; the Chancellor Walworth, Theodore Freylinghausen, General Coeke, Christian Keener, Dr. Beecher, and a host of other worthy and able men, devoted their time, labour, and fortune to the cause; at a period when there were 40,000 distilleries in that country, and a consumption of 60,000,000 of gallons of ardent spirits alone.

As a proof of the zeal with which the question of Temperance was there taken up, it may be stated, that in the National Convention, held on the subject in 1833, at Philadelphia, more than 400 delegates attended it from the various States of the Union; and the venerable Chancellor Walworth presided over its deliberations: from which period it has gone on increasing in numbers and in influence, and always

keeping far ahead in this respect of every other country in the world.

It was during my absence in America, and about a year after my leaving England, that the zealous and indefatigable Father Mathew appeared in Ireland as the great Apostle of Temperance among his Catholic brethren. He had himself received his conversion at the hands of Mr. William Martin, a provision merchant in Cork, and a member of the Society of Friends. With the zeal of his order, being a Franciscan Friar, Father Mathew devoted himself with untiring energy to the work of converting others from their intemperate habits, and preaching the duty of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks to the multitudes that thronged around him at every halting-place on his way. Many thousands—some indeed say millions—were, no doubt, induced by his exhortations and example to abandon the use of strong liquors; and, according to the testimony of all who travelled through Ireland about that period, the change in the habits and conduct of the people was marvellous in their eyes; while the diminution of crime was the surest test of its beneficent influence.

About the same period, 1838, the Rev. Robert Baird, from America, visited most of the northern countries of Europe, including Holland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Germany, had interviews with several of their monarchs on the subject, distributed large numbers of his work on the Temperance Reformation, as far as it had then gone, and had it translated into several languages. It is said that the result of his tour led to the reduction or shutting up of not less than 40,000 distilleries, and a deep sense of the evils of drinking habits appeared to be awakened in all ranks and classes.

Mr. E. C. Delavan, of Albany, the Father Mathew of America, also visited Europe on the same mission, and had interviews with the King of France, Louis Philippe, and his son, the Duke of Orleans, both of whom admitted that though wines, rather than ardent spirits, formed the chief drink of the French, it was a delusion to suppose that excesses were not committed in the use of this lighter beverage, or that it was not greatly productive of crime; while its tendency to promote idleness, profligacy, poverty, and sickness, was admitted by all who had paid any attention to the conduct and condition of the peasantry and the working classes. Indeed, any man who has visited the chief capitals of Southern Europe, where light wines are chiefly drank, such as Lisbon, Cadiz, Malaga, Marseilles, Toulon, Naples, and the Greek Islands, must be convinced that there is a large amount of drunkenness, among the maritime classes especially, even on wine; and that the substitution of this beverage, which many advocate for the working classes of England, would be of very doubtful benefit, and by no means cure the evil we deplore.

In Scotland many noble-minded men gave themselves up to the advocacy of the Temperance cause. Mr. Robert Kettle, Mr. Robert Reid, the Rev. William Reid, and a number of zealous and influential friends, organized the "Western Scottish Union" in Glasgow in 1844, and established there also a Monthly Review, besides affiliated Societies in Edinburgh, and other parts of Scotland, who took up the cause with equal zeal; and with the steady perseverance characteristic of the Scottish race, they have never receded, but always advanced.

In 1843 Father Mathew visited England, and continued his labours here, but with nothing like the success that

attended them in Ireland, where his influence as a priest, which added so greatly to his other claims on his Catholic flocks, was of course inoperative among Protestant hearers. Nevertheless, his visit did much good, because it reached the Irish in London and Liverpool, whom, probably, no Protestant pastor could have brought into his fold.

The zeal of Father Mathew having involved him, as it has many others, in heavy pecuniary responsibilities, and his health having also suffered from his really extraordinary labours, he was honoured with a pension for life of £300 a-year on the Civil List of the Crown, and no man better deserved it. But his broken constitution, chiefly caused by his excessive labours, does not allow of more than an occasional exercise of his powers, which, however, are always cheerfully given when the state of his health permits; and the cause in Ireland is now chiefly sustained by the zealous labours of his successors, Father Spratt, of Dublin, Richard Allen, and Dr. Harvey of the same city, and James Haughton, a retired merchant, who gives his nights and days, his tongue, his pen, and his purse, freely and liberally to promote the sobriety and welfare of his fellow-countrymen.

In 1846, a grand gathering of the friends of Temperance took place in London, in the month of August, under the title of "The World's Temperance Convention." No less than 300 delegates, appointed by their respective Temperance Societies in various parts of the world, attended it,—twenty-five of the number coming across the Atlantic from America for the special purpose. Its deliberations were carried on during a week, in morning and evening sittings, during which a vast amount of most important information was elicited, and the bond of brotherhood between the members drawn more closely; and their session was wound up by a

crowded public meeting held in the capacious theatre of Covent Garden, where the speakers were numerous and the enthusiasm of the audience unbounded.

Having understood that in Sweden, King Oscar and his amiable Queen had given their personal sanction and attendance at the meetings of Temperance Societies in that country—that the King had employed, at his own private expense, missionaries to traverse his kingdom, to convert drunkards and moderate drinkers equally from their injurious habits—that he had even offered compensation to those who would close their distilleries, and shut up their drinking shops—it was thought that other monarchs in Europe might be influenced to follow this example if their attention was called to the subject—especially as at this period there were believed to be above 100,000 members of Temperance Societies in Sweden; in Norway, 20,000; in Denmark, where the king was also favourable to the cause, 80,000; and throughout Germany, about 1,000,000; all earnestly devoted to the promotion of Temperance in others as well as themselves. An Address was accordingly prepared by me for this purpose and submitted to the Convention, by which it was unanimously adopted; and copies of this Address were sent, with the Report of the Parliamentary Committee, to all the crowned heads of Europe through their respective Ambassadors. The Address was as follows:—

ADDRESS

*From the World's Temperance Convention, held in London in the
month of August, 1846,*

TO THE MONARCHS AND RULERS OF ALL NATIONS.

DEEPLY impressed with the conviction, that it is in the power of those whom the Sovereign Ruler of the Universe hath

permitted to exercise dominion among the nations of the earth, to increase the happiness of the people over whom their rule is extended,—and perceiving, that under every form of government established among men, the leading object professed by each is a desire to lessen the amount of human ill, and augment the sum of public good, by whatever lawful and honourable means it may be accomplished,—we venture to draw your attention to some of the prominent evils that unhappily afflict a large portion of the human race, and to ask your beneficent and powerful aid towards effecting their removal.

Through every period of history, sacred and profane, the use of stimulating drinks has more or less prevailed, and in all countries, and at all times, have been found to be productive of a great amount of injury to the individuals and communities by whom they were most freely consumed. The Scriptures of the Old and of the New Testament equally agree in describing the intoxication produced by them as an evil of the greatest magnitude, and in warning mankind against their pernicious effects. And the history of all nations, from the downfall of the great empires of Assyria and Babylon up to the recent extinctions of whole tribes of the aborigines of America, show how frequently and how powerfully the use of wine and ardent spirits has been instrumental in hastening the greatest national calamities that have been brought upon themselves by the ignorance and imprudence of mankind.

Nor is the history of individuals less prolific than that of nations in examples of the evils produced by stimulating drinks, from the assassination of his bosom friend Clitus by the hand of Alexander of Macedon, in a fit of drunken frenzy at a Persian banquet, down to the two unhappy instances occurring while this Convention holds its sitting, namely, the

death of a British soldier by flogging for an act of insubordination committed by him while intoxicated, at Hounslow, near London ; and the condemnation to death, by a court-martial, of a British marine, in a ship of war in the harbour of Cork, for resisting his superior officer, in a fit of drunkenness ! So extended, indeed, has the evil become, that there is scarcely a family in Europe or America who cannot call to their painful recollection instances within their own degrees of kindred, near or remote, in which some individuals, beginning life with every prospect of honour and happiness, have become wrecked on the rocks and shoals of intemperance, and have sunk to a premature and dishonoured grave.

As in many other cases, so in this, the extent of the evil became at length so alarming, that the attention of philanthropic men, in America and England at first, and subsequently in Ireland, France, Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and in nearly all the British Colonies, from the snow-clad hills of Canada and Labrador to the burning plains of Africa and Hindoostan, has been drawn to the subject, as one of the most important that can engage the attention of the patriot, the Christian, the statesman, and the monarchs and rulers of the earth.

In consequence of this impression, inquiries have been instituted and investigations made into all matters connected with the causes and effects of the habits of intemperance in all ranks and classes of mankind. Societies have been specially established to promote, by precept and example, the practice of entire abstinence from the use of all stimulating drinks ; and there are now numbered, as practically and totally abstaining members of such Societies, in the different countries named, not less than eighteen millions—of whom there may be counted seven millions in America, five millions in Ireland, three millions in England and Scotland, and three millions on

the Continent of Europe and in the British Colonies in both hemispheres. And in every locality in which such societies have been planted, the almost universal testimony of the inhabitants is borne as to the beneficial effects they have produced on the health, means, manners, condition, morals, and religious conduct of the members belonging to them.

Never, it is believed, in the history of the world, has there before been an example of so rapid and widely-spread an extension of a simple truth, and the adoption of a uniform rule of action for its practice and propagation as in the present case, where a doctrine, or a principle, first publicly announced and professed about fifteen years ago, is now so extensively appreciated and embraced, and so faithfully acted upon by millions in every quarter of the globe, that the sun in his course is never at any hour of the day passing over a space in which his benign rays do not illumine and bless some spot in which a Temperance Society is reflecting his glorious light, and spreading in its humbler sphere the blessings of intelligence and good example within the circle of its more limited horizon.

Notwithstanding this cause of just congratulation and thanks to the Giver of all good for the triumph with which He has hitherto crowned the efforts of those who have endeavoured to promote the happiness of their fellow men through these means, there yet remains a vast amount of sickness, lunacy, poverty, crime, and suffering, clearly attributable to the use of intoxicating drinks in every country inhabited by man ; for, unhappily, even the uncivilised tribes of barbarian lands are supplied with the poison by the traders and adventurers of Europe and America. Thus, besides the misery which it creates among them by its use, it renders abortive all attempts to civilise or elevate them in the scale of being, or to bring them under the blessed influence of

Christianity : the uniform testimony of the missionaries of every denomination of the Christian Church, concurring in the expression of their belief, that nothing operates so powerfully to prevent their adding converts to the truths of the Holy Gospel, as the use of strong drinks, introduced among the native tribes by their more civilised European visitors ; while some, indeed, of their chiefs or leaders, have implored the British and American governments not to permit the traffic in this “ fire-water,” as they call the destructive poison, seeing that its use has already led to the entire extinction of some tribes, and the deterioration and corruption of all into which it has ever been introduced.

If these were the opinions of this Convention only, they might apprehend some difficulty in their ready acceptance, by those high Potentates and Rulers to whom they presume to offer this Address ; but they are enabled to cite an authority of the most unquestionable kind, one emanating from the British Legislature itself, and, therefore, clothed with all the securities against error or misrepresentation with which the severe scrutiny and impartial examination of a large body of intelligent and upright men surrounds it.

On the 3rd of June, 1834, a Select Committee was appointed by the British House of Commons, “ to inquire into the extent, causes, and consequences of the prevailing vice of intoxication, among the labouring classes of the United Kingdom, in order to ascertain whether any legislative measures could be devised to prevent the further spread of so great an evil.”

This Committee was composed of thirty-eight members, and included Lord Althorp, then Chancellor of the Exchequer and Leader of the House of Commons ; Sir Robert Peel, the late Prime Minister of England ; Admiral Fleming, of the

Royal Navy ; Colonel Williams, of the King's Army ; Mr. Alexander Baring, the most eminent of British merchants ; and representatives of the agricultural, manufacturing, and maritime counties of England, Scotland, and Ireland ; so that every interest in the empire was represented in its composition. It extended its daily sittings, from the 9th of June to the 28th of July, 1834 : in the course of which, no less than fifty-eight witnesses were examined at great length, and these included physicians and surgeons of the greatest eminence, magistrates and officers of justice, ministers of religion and education, officers of the navy, the army, and the mercantile marine, large landed proprietors, opulent merchants, extensive manufacturers, chemists, distillers, keepers of hotels and taverns, and labouring men in several departments of industry. Never, perhaps, in the annals of Parliament, was a Committee composed of more eminent or impartial members—never was there a greater variety of witnesses from all classes of society, and all professions in life, carefully examined—and never was there greater unanimity than in the conclusions to which the Committee came in the REPORT which they ultimately founded on this evidence, and which was adopted and printed by order of the House of Commons, as well as the large body of evidence itself, forming a folio volume of several hundred pages.

The Convention propose to append to this Address, a copy of the Report only, apart from the Evidence, the bulk of which alone precludes its presentation ; but in this place it will be their duty to mention a few at least of the more prominent facts which this evidence proved.

1. That intoxicating drinks produce these painful consequences to individuals—disease in every variety of form, stunted growth in the young, premature decay and death in

middle age, apoplexy, paralysis, idiotcy, madness, suicide, and violent death ; by all which, more lives are wasted and destroyed in a single year than in all the great battles of the last century.

2. That intoxicating drinks are the chief cause of the pauperism, prostitution, and crime, which fill the workhouses, asylums, prisons, hulks, and penitentiaries ; and which require an enormous expense in the maintenance of police, and the machinery of criminal justice to restrain and repress.

3. That the greatest hindrance to the education of youth, the promotion of morality among adults, and to the propagation and reception of Christian truths, in all ranks at home and abroad, is the general and extreme use of intoxicating drinks.

4. That many millions of quarters of grain, given by a bountiful Providence for the food of man, in wheat, barley, rye, oats, rice, &c., are not merely annihilated as food, but are converted into a destructive poison by distillation.

5. That the loss of productive labour (the chief source of national as it is of individual wealth), in consequence of the idleness, sickness, debility, and incapacity occasioned by the drinking usages of the labouring classes, may be fairly estimated at not less than one-sixth of their whole disposable time, amounting in value to many millions annually.

6. That the destruction of property, by sea and land, in shipwrecks, fires, incendiary or accidental, robberies, plunderings, and waste or spoiling of goods in every department of industry is almost incalculable, amounting to many millions more.

It would be easy for the Convention to add much more upon this painful subject ; but they trust they have said enough to justify the step they take in endeavouring to awaken

the attention and enlist the sympathies of those entrusted with sovereign power in this great subject, and who, as rulers of nations, must be desirous of purifying the respective countries subject to their dominion from the greatest of all moral pestilences that ever afflicted the earth, sweeping annually to dishonoured graves more victims than ever were destroyed by war—visiting with disease a larger number of persons of all ages than plague, pestilence, and famine combined.

To such chiefly we address ourselves, in the spirit of Christian regard and Christian frankness, when we say, Rulers of Nations, and Protectors of the people committed to your care! if you desire to prevent their labour-created wealth from being destroyed—to see the resources of their industry fully developed—their golden harvests of grain husbanded for the food of man—your population preserved in vigorous health and industry—the youths well instructed and morally trained—the men sober—the women chaste—the public authorities just and temperate—your subjects happy and obedient, and the great duties of morality and religion cheerfully and willingly performed, under the influence of love for their excellencies and a hearty participation in their enjoyments, rather than from a fear and terror of the punishments that await their neglect,—If these be the objects of your high and noble ambition, O Rulers and Potentates of the Earth! we entreat you, in the name of the World's Convention, now assembled together in friendly union from the varied countries that have sent us here to represent their feelings, hopes, and desires, that you unite with us in doing whatever in your wisdom may seem best calculated to arrest the progress of Intemperance in your respective dominions—to encourage all societies, institutions, and measures for abolishing the drinking usages and customs of your people—

to honour by your august presence, as well as patronage (as their Majesties the King and Queen of Sweden have recently done, attending in their royal persons the great Temperance Convention at Stockholm, held in that city during the last month only), similar gatherings together, for the same purpose, of the subjects of your own realms ;—and while you will thus draw down upon your crowned and anointed heads the blessings of all your people, and the grateful homage of the heart from millions yet unborn, your dying moments, whenever they may come,—as in the course of time must happen to us all,—will be soothed with the remembrance that you have endeavoured to discharge the high trust and responsibility committed to your rule, by encouraging within your dominions a new MORAL REFORMATION for the improvement of mankind,—the great end and aim of which is to promote “Glory to God ! on earth peace ! and good-will to man !”

In the name and under the authority of the Convention,

(Signed)

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

LONDON, AUG. 10, 1846.

In 1851, the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry for all Nations was opened in the Crystal Palace, at Hyde Park ; and, as this was likely to bring together a large number of influential persons from different quarters of the globe, as exhibitors of their several productions or manufactures, I conceived the idea of preparing a small volume, on the subject of Temperance and Peace, to be presented gratuitously to every exhibitor, in the hope that, if the work should interest them, they would, on returning to their homes, be disposed to

propagate the truths it contained, and organize Temperance and Peace Societies in their neighbourhoods. A fund was raised by subscription, to cover the expense of this publication, which was soon got ready, and formed a handsome little volume of 144 pages, under the following title :—

“An Earnest Plea for the Reign of Temperance and Peace, as conducive to the Prosperity of Nations, submitted to the Visitors of the Great Exhibition, in which are collected the rich Treasures of Art and Industry from all quarters of the Globe ; accompanied by Documents in Proof of the Statements and Principles involved ;” and the motto chosen for it was this :—“Of all the causes that are most destructive to human life, and most injurious to health, wealth, morality, and happiness—**INTemperance** and **WAR** may be numbered as the most powerful ; while National and Individual Prosperity, and the highest interests of Education, Commerce, Industry, Science, Art, and Religion—in short, the most perfect enjoyment of the Life that is, and the fittest preparation for the Life that is to come—are all promoted by **TEMPERANCE** and **PEACE**.”

The volume was embellished by an engraved Frontispiece, representing Asia, Africa, and America presenting their respective products to Europe, under the figure of Britannia, with the olive branch of peace, the cornucopia of abundance, and the kneeling African imploring the removal of his chains, with the motto surrounding the picture, “Unfettered Inter-course between all Nations the best Security for Abundance and Peace.” At the close of the volume was another Engraving, exhibiting the enormous waste of the national treasures by intemperance. Of this work, one thousand copies were, with the approbation and permission of his Royal Highness Prince Albert and the Council of Management, distributed

gratuitously to a thousand of the exhibitors and their associates ; and there is every reason to hope that great good resulted from their distribution.

At the same time, the wise and salutary regulation which prohibited the sale or gift of any kind of intoxicating liquors among the refreshments supplied to the millions that visited the Crystal Palace, was a public testimony to the value and importance of the Temperance cause, and of incalculable importance to its success ; while the same rule being adopted in the very charter of the New Crystal Palace Company, is a further confirmation of its universal approval.

On the 1st of August, 1851, a Conference of the Friends of Temperance, was held in the City of London Literary Institution, when numerous delegates from Provincial Societies attended ; and, on the 4th of the same month, a crowded meeting was held in Exeter Hall, to welcome the friends of Temperance to the metropolis. It was presided over by Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., M.P. for Derby, the first Member of Parliament who was elected on purely Temperance principles, without the use or countenance of any kind of intoxicating drinks among his adherents ; though his colleague, Mr. Bass, is an extensive brewer of the pale ale of Burton, so much and so erroneously vaunted as a wholesome tonic and nutritious beverage. On the morning of the following day, large numbers joined the Temperance Procession to the Crystal Palace. In the evening of the same day, crowded meetings were held in various parts of the metropolis. A public breakfast at the London Tavern followed on the 6th ; and, in the afternoon, a grand fête took place under the auspices of a Temperance Demonstration Committee, which was attended by more than 20,000 persons. From this body emanated a Loyal Address to the Queen, and a Petition to the House of Commons, on the

subject of Intemperance and its evils, and the necessity of legislative measures for their removal ; and from this gathering sprung "The London Temperance League," the object of which was to add to the efforts of the existing National Temperance Society, by special labours in the metropolis and its suburbs, for the promotion of total abstinence from all intoxicating drinks.

In the meantime Bands of Hope for children were formed, chiefly by the instrumentality of Mr. T. B. Smithies in England, and Mr. Peter Sinclair in Scotland, and now include many thousands of children of both sexes, from the ages of eight and nine upwards. At a single meeting of only a portion of these Bands of Hope in the metropolis, which was held at Exeter Hall in the autumn of 1851, not less than 5,000 youths were assembled in the great hall, and nearly an equal number dispersed through the numerous smaller rooms below it. I had the gratification of presiding over the larger meeting ; and in all my varied experience I never remember anything more impressive or more truly hope-inspiring than such a sight as these congregated masses of yet innocent and uncontaminated youths presented. But these will now soon form the men and women of society, occupying our places when we are removed from the scene, and drawing after them, it is to be hoped, millions of juvenile followers, where we have been content, as the earlier workers in the field, to gather in our thousands.

Mr. John Cassell, himself a labouring artizan and a converted drunkard, some fifteen years ago, but now a man of extensive business in various ways, especially in cheap and useful publications for the million, and a man of capital as well as intelligence and industry, organized several important public meetings, established *The Tee-total Times*, and

greatly assisted to promote the cause, by his purse, his press, and his tongue.

The Rev. Dr. Robinson, of the Established Church ; Rev. Dr. Burns, and Rev. Dawson Burns ; Rev. Dr. Campbell, Editor of the *British Banner* ; Dr. Oxley, of Hackney ; William Janson, Esq., of Tottenham, and many other generous and indefatigable supporters of this cause, deserve all honour for their constant and unwearied labours to do good ; while the Editors of the *National Temperance Chronicle*, and *Weekly News*, under their zealous publisher, Mr. Tweedie, in London, the *Bristol Temperance Herald*, supported mainly by Joseph Eaton, Robert Charlton, and the late Edward Thomas, of Bristol, and the several able reviews, magazines, and newspapers devoted to the cause in Scotland, are all scattering good seed every month and week ; while the daily papers of London, and the weekly press throughout the country, now speak in terms of respect and good will, and in many instances in high commendation, of an enterprise which a few years ago the great majority of them treated as simply absurd and ridiculous.

Mr. Joseph Sturge, of Birmingham, an old and zealous friend of every good cause, and nearly the whole body of the Society of Friends, of which he is a member, give their valuable support to everything connected with the promotion of Temperance. The noble Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Harrowby, the Earl of Zetland, the Earl of Harrington, and many of the aristocracy of the country, give public expression to their approbation ; and in the House of Commons a Committee is now sitting to examine the whole question of Public Houses, their licences, their effects, &c., under the able Presidency of the Honourable Charles Pelham Villiers, brother to the Earl of Clarendon, the Secretary of

State for Foreign Affairs. And in the House of Commons the cause has able advocates in Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, Mr. Heyworth, Mr. Brotherton, Mr. Crossley, Sir George Strickland, Mr. Ewart, Mr. Hume, and others; so that the prospect of success for legislative measures to restrain and suppress Intemperance were never, perhaps, so bright as at the present moment.

Richard Dykes Alexander, of Ipswich, an opulent and liberal member of the Society of Friends, has, for several years past, devoted his time, labour, and money to the publication of a series of tracts on the Temperance question, which have been productive of immense good; and Edward Baines, Esq., the Proprietor and Editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, one of the widest circulated of all our provincial journals, has been a long-tried and able advocate of the movement. Sir Walter Trevelyan, Bart., of Morpeth, recently set a noble example, while presiding at a great political gathering to celebrate the return of Sir George Grey as Member for Northumberland, by declining to drink wine or any other intoxicating liquor at the toasts proposed; and the whole banquet was conducted, for the first time, perhaps, in the history of county elections, without the contamination of these destroying drinks. These are among the encouraging signs of the times.

In adverting to the Literature of Temperance, it would be unjust not to mention the great good accomplished by such works as those of “Bacchus,” and “Anti-Bacchus,” the former by Dr. Grindrod, now of Malvern; and the latter by the Rev. James Parsons, of Ebley, in Gloucestershire; by the work of the Rev. W. R. Baker, “Intemperance the Idolatry of Great Britain;” on the “Drinking Usages of Society,” by J. Dunlop; Dr. Lee’s “Illustrated History of Alcohol;” by

that of Thomas Beggs, on "Juvenile Depravity;" and by the masterly Prize Essay of Dr. Carpenter, Examiner in Physiology in the University of London, and Professor of Medical Jurisprudence in University College. This work is entitled, "The Physiology of Temperance and Total Abstinence; being an Examination of the Effects of the Excessive, Moderate, and Occasional Use of Aleoholic Liquors on the Healthy Human System." As a medical, physiological, and philosophical treatise, it is without a rival, and may really be said to be "worth its weight in gold;" so that instead of inviting other Prize Essays, by the offer of munificent rewards, as has been done by Sir Horace St. Paul, Bart., the High Sheriff of Northumberland, and others, the amount offered would be far more wisely expended in multiplying copies of this splendid and demonstratively convincing Essay, and placing one, as far as possible, in the hands of every influential person, male and female, in the kingdom. It ought to be read as universally as the Gospel itself, with every divine precept and doctrine of which it is in perfect harmony; and though not intended to be placed on the same level with that Sacred Volume, it deserves at least to come next after it; or, perhaps, in some instances where the Gospel itself is wholly neglected, and held of no account, it might serve as an admirable pioneer to prepare the way for its favourable reception, by rescuing men from that indifference to Divine truths, which intemperance invariably begets, and make them disposed, in sober earnestness, to extend their inquiries beyond the limits of this fleeting life.

In casting our regards once more across the Atlantic to our fellow-labourers in the same good cause in America, we shall find much not merely to admire and applaud, but also to imitate to the best of our power.

The next movement in America was the most important that has yet taken place in the history of the Temperance Reformation. Mr. Neal Dow, Mayor of the City of Portland, in the State of Maine, the north-easternmost boundary of the United States, and adjoining to the British province of New Brunswick, being deeply impressed with the evils inseparable from the traffic in intoxicating drinks, was the means of introducing into the Legislature of that State, in 1846, a law for the entire suppression of that traffic, which, besides compelling all places for the sale of intoxicating liquors to be closed, gave to the widows and orphans of persons dying from drunkenness a claim to all the money spent by them, as far as it could be traced, for intoxicating drinks, from the parties who had supplied them. This was, as might have been expected, violently opposed by interested parties, and a modified law succeeded this in 1849; but this did not receive the sanction of the Governor of the State, though passed by both Houses of the Legislature, and could not, therefore, be enforced. In 1851, however, a final triumph was obtained by the passing a more perfect law of the same nature, which was carried by a majority of eighteen to ten in the Senate, and of eighty-six to forty in the House of Representatives; and this receiving the sanction of the Governor, became a legal enactment, and is now popularly known throughout the world as "The Maine Law for the entire Suppression of all Traffic in Intoxicating Drinks," the chief features of which are ably concentrated and described by Samuel Pope, Esq., of Manchester, the Honorary Secretary of the Alliance, in an article in "Tait's Edinburgh Magazine" for November, 1853, of which the following extracts are sufficient to give an accurate idea:—

"A natural question arises in this country on the statement of these facts: 'What is the Maine law?' It is 'an act to suppress

drinking houses and tippling shops,' and its provisions are simple and effective. Wherever intoxicating liquor is found under circumstances which justify a belief that it is intended for SALE, it is impounded, and if on investigation the suspicion is confirmed, *the liquor is destroyed*.

"Every town or district is allowed to appoint an agent for the purpose of supplying whatever may be required for medicinal, manufacturing, or artistic purposes; and so far as has appeared at present, an ample supply for these purposes has thus been obtained. The following extract from a speech delivered by Professor Stowe, at the last annual meeting of the 'Scottish Temperance League,' will be read with interest in elucidation of this matter. 'What is the Maine Law? It is an act to put an end to TRAFFIC in intoxicating drinks among the people. It has nothing to do with a man's own private affairs; it has nothing to do with the interior of any man's family; any man, wherever he can find liquor, if he chooses may purchase it, and bring it into his own family and use it there if he likes—the law does not touch it or him. It considers every man's house his castle, and if he has a mind to drink in the bosom of his family it does not take hold of him; it leaves him free in that respect. But if any man does bring intoxicating liquors into the State for sale, if he sells intoxicating drink to make money by it, if he even gives it away, and takes something else to evade the law, what does the law do? *It takes all his rum away and throws it on the ground*. It does not touch his pocket or his person, but it says, 'You are not a fit person to have the possession of intoxicating drink, and we shall *take it away*.' If a man makes solemn oath that he will not sell, and does not intend to sell, any of that spirit, it leaves him unmolested. If alcohol is introduced for the arts and manufacture—and we know it to be necessary in many of the arts—it is not touched. If it is kept for medical purposes, like opium, calomel, or any other article of that kind, to be used and prescribed by a physician, it is not touched. In every town there are agents appointed by the town, and paid by the town, for the sale of alcohol for these purposes—manufacturing and medical—but they are under oath and heavy bonds to sell it for no other purposes. The certificate of a respectable physician is sufficient to authorise its sale for medical purposes, and the oath of a manufacturer is required for its

sale to a manufacturer. And to prevent the effects of monopoly, the agent has not the profits of the sale; the article is sold at cost, and the community or the township receives all the profit. The agent acts for the township, and not for any individual.

“ ‘Such is the substance and purpose of the law.’ ”

“ But the spirit which in Maine had carried on this agitation to a successful issue had spread to other states.

“ In Vermont, particularly, the annual universal suffrage votes on the license question, as already noticed, had been productive of such results—in two instances a majority of more than 10,000 for *no license*—that in 1850 the Legislature of the State took up the subject again, and, in 1852, passed a prohibiting law now in force.

“ In March, 1852, a similar law was adopted by the Territory of Minnesota; on May 7th, 1852, by the State of Rhode Island; on May 22nd, 1852, by the State of Massachusetts; on the 20th Dec., 1852, by the Legislature of Vermont; and in a few months after by the Legislature of Michigan. In both these last instances the time when the law was to come into operation was submitted to a vote of the people, and the result, in both cases, has been the triumphant affirmation of the act, and its immediate and unconditional adoption.

“ In Michigan especially, the majority just declared is most impressive, and in Vermont the large towns have been unanimous in their decision. There is no longer any doubt that, with slight modifications, the Maine Law will gradually be adopted by all the States.

“ Of the *practical efficiency* of the Maine Law, in its parent state, there can be no doubt. Referring to the ‘Annual Report’ of the Mayor of Portland, 1852, we find, that while prior to the passing of the law there were in that city, at least 300 to 400 rum-shops of all grades, at present *there is not one*. Nor have these houses been replaced, as in 1864, by secret or hush-shops, drunkenness continuing as before. We find, from the same Report, that notwithstanding increased vigilance on the part of the police, the decrease in the number of parties committed for drunkenness has been equal to three-fourths of the entire number. The various statistics, as given, are as follows :—House of correction committals for intemperance,

from June 1st, 1850, to March, 1851, 46; from June, 1851, to March, 1852, 10. The Maine Law was enacted June 2d, 1851. From the JAIL returns, we find, committed for drunkenness and larceny (in these returns the two offences are not separated), from June, 1850, to April, 1851, 279; for corresponding period of Maine Law operation, 1851-52, 63. Committed to the watchhouse, 1850-51, 431; same period, 1851-52, 180.

“Similar results are found in all the various returns. As might be expected, this great decrease of intemperance has been accompanied by a corresponding decrease in *crime and pauperism*. Accordingly, on the authority of the same official document, we are able to state, that there were committed to the house of correction in Portland, for larceny, from June, 1850, to March, 1851, 12; from June 1851, to March, 1852, 3. At the March Term, 1852, of the Portland District Court, but *one* indictment, and that by mistake, was found for larceny; while at the March Term, 1851, the number was *seventeen*.

“It is also interesting to note that, while at the commencement of 1851, the mayor had thought it necessary to recommend the construction of a new alms-house, to cost at least 50,000 dollars, as indispensable for the comfort and accommodation of their numerous and increasing paupers,—since the enactment of the Maine Law, the general want, notwithstanding unusually severe winters, has been so much less than usual, as to afford ground for expectation that the old alms-house will afford abundant accommodation until the city shall be three or four times as populous as it is. The new poor-house has, therefore, been abandoned.

“The operation of the Law has been equally successful *throughout the State*. In many small towns, Professor Stowe states that there is not a single pauper, while in others the jails are empty and advertised to let. So marked is the improvement, that wealthy and influential men, previously engaged in the traffic, now considered ‘infamous,’ admit that they have been more than compensated for their personal loss by the rapid increase of general prosperity.

“The *economic* results have been indeed most satisfactory. The Council of Portland have been enabled to invest large sums in public

works, and in developing the industry of the district. The little farming town of Fairfield, having saved 800 dollars out of their poor rate of 1,100 dollars, have added 600 dollars to their public education fund, reserving the balance to provide for the enforcement of this beneficial law.

“Our own colony of New Brunswick has adopted a very stringent enactment as far as regards wines and spirits, totally prohibiting their sale; which, notwithstanding great discouragement, and some demur on the part of the Government at home, received the royal sanction, and became law in that colony, on June 1st in the present year (1853). On the 14th June also, an Act was assented to, for the United Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, entitled, ‘An Act to prohibit the sale of intoxicating liquors on or near the line of public works in this province,’ which, though imperfect in its form and provisions, is still stringent and summary in the powers it grants.”

The facts and considerations contained in the preceding and other similar articles, which had now been more frequently than in former times made public through the press, at length encouraged the foremost men in the Temperance ranks to organize a Society for promoting the adoption of a Maine Law for England; and this took place on the 26th of October, 1853, a condensed but faithful and impartial report of which appeared in the “National Temperance Chronicle” of the following month, December, 1853, as follows:—

“The Inauguration of the United Kingdom Alliance for obtaining the Legislative Suppression of the Traffic in all Intoxicating Drinks, was celebrated by a Conference of the General Council, who met from all parts of the kingdom in Manchester, Wednesday, October 26th. A sermon was delivered on the previous evening, by Rev. Jabez Burns, D.D., of London, in Lever Street Chapel, from Proverbs xxxi. 5 (first clause).

“Next morning upwards of seventy members of the Council breakfasted together in the Athenæum, George Street; and at half-past ten these gentlemen, with many others (and some ladies amongst

the spectators), assembled in the Library Hall, at the same place, for the purpose of conferring on the business of the Alliance.

“The chair, in the first instance, was occupied by Samuel Bowly, Esq., of Gloucester, who, after a short interval of silence for prayer had been allowed, briefly opened the business of the meeting.

“Samuel Pope, Esq., the Honorary Secretary, read the report of the Executive Committee—a very interesting and able document, which, among other facts, stated that the Council consisted of more than two hundred gentlemen, residing in every part of the United Kingdom.

“After a short address from the President, Mr. Heyworth read a paper on ‘The Delusion of the Drinking System;’ Rev. Dr. Perry, of Derby, another on ‘the Liquor Traffic Immoral and Indefensible;’ and a third by Henry Mudge, Esq., of Bodmin, on ‘The Necessity of a Law to prohibit the Liquor Traffic, deduced from the actual state of the Public House System of Connell.’

“A resolution adopted at a Conference of Temperance Advocates, pledging them ‘to an uncompromising war with the traffic,’ was here read; and Dr. Lees having made a statement of what he had seen and heard while in America, of the operations of the Maine Law, J. S. Buckingham, Esq., of London, read a paper on ‘The Justice, Policy, and Safety of a Maine Law for Britain.’

“At this stage of the proceedings, the publication of a Declaration of views was moved by B. Wilson, Esq., of Mirfield, and seconded by W. Willis, Esq., of Luton. Each paragraph was submitted *seriatim*, and unanimously adopted in the following form:—

“DECLARATION.

“The General Council of the United Kingdom Alliance hereby affirm and record the following declaration:—

“1. That it is neither right nor politic for the State to afford legal protection and sanction to any traffic or system that tends to increase crime, to waste the national resources, to corrupt the social habits, and to destroy the health and lives of the people.

“2. That the traffic in intoxicating liquors, as common beverages, is inimical to the true interests of individuals, and destructive of

the order and welfare of society, and ought, therefore, to be prohibited.

“3. That the history and results of all past legislation in regard to the liquor traffic abundantly prove that it is impossible to satisfactorily limit or regulate a system so essentially mischievous in its tendencies.

“4. That no considerations of private gain or public revenue can justify the upholding of a system so utterly wrong in principle, suicidal in policy, and disastrous in result, as the traffic in intoxicating liquors.

“5. That the legislative prohibition of the liquor traffic is perfectly compatible with rational liberty, and with all the claims of justice and legitimate commerce.

“6. That the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic would be highly conducive to the development of a progressive civilisation.

“7. That, rising above class, sectarian, or party considerations, all good citizens should combine to procure an enactment prohibiting the sale of intoxicating beverages, as affording efficient aid in removing the appalling evil of intemperance.

“Resolutions authorising the appointment of lecturers and other agents, the formation of auxiliary bodies, the offering of a prize of £100 for an essay on the legislative suppression of the liquor traffic, the preparation and circulation of tracts, and raising a fund of £2,000 to defray the expenses of the first year's agitation, were unanimously passed.

“Mr. Bowly stated that, in a town which he could name, it was found that, on one Sunday alone, between the hours of half-past twelve in the morning and ten at night, into forty-three public houses there entered an average of 7,568 men, 2,804 women, and 1,281 children, making 11,653. There were other public houses in the town of which no notice was taken; but taking those into account, and assuming their custom to have been equal to the forty-three, there must have been 62,601 visits to public houses on that day, in a population of only 80,000 inhabitants.

“The Hon. Secretary announced that up to this morning, upwards

of £600 had been promised towards the £2,000 proposed to be raised. On the suggestion of Mr. Nelson, subscription papers were sent round to the members of the Council present, and in a few minutes additional subscriptions were announced sufficient to raise the sum to £847 12s. 6d.

“Two other papers were read,—one by the Rev. Dawson Burns, on ‘What the Alliance Is and is Not;’ and the other by John Lecch, Esq., M.D., of Glasgow, on ‘The Policy of Confining and Treating Drunkards as Lunatics.’ Other papers were not read for want of time. The whole of the papers, with the sermon preached by Dr. Burns, were placed at the disposal of the Committee.

“Dr. Burns moved—that this Council recognise and implore the blessing of Almighty God as needful to give power and efficiency to the labours and aims of those engaged in working out the objects of the Alliance. This, also, was carried unanimously.

“The thanks of the Council were given to the authors of the papers, to Dr. Burns for his sermon, to the President of the Committee, and to the original Executive Committee.

“The Conference terminated about half-past four o’clock.

“The public meeting was held at the Corn Exchange. Long before half-past six, the hour of meeting, the place was crowded in every part. It was with difficulty standing room could be got. At the hour appointed, the chair was taken by Sir Walter Trevelyan, who commenced by calling on Mr. Pope to read the resolutions agreed to at the morning sitting. The reading of the Declaration and programme of the intended operations of the Council was received with loud cheers.

“Animated speeches were delivered by Dr. F. R. Lees, J. S. Buckingham, Esq., Rev. L. Panting, M.A., Vicar of Chebsey, Rev. B. Parsons, of Ebley, W. Willis, Esq., Rev. H. Gale, B.C.L., Rev. F. Ferguson, of Glasgow, Rev. Dr. Burns, S. Bowly, Esq., and Rev. D. M’Crae.

“All the resolutions were carried without one dissentient voice: the vast assembly responding with unanimous enthusiasm to every sentiment and appeal having reference to the suppression of the traffic.”

The papers read at the Inauguration Meeting will all, probably, be printed and published, under the auspices and among the records of the United Kingdom Alliance; but as these together would form a large volume, and could not therefore be included within the limits of this number, I present my own, the only one over the property or copyright of which I have any control, in the hope that it will be found to embrace the chief points, at least, of the position it is intended to establish.

THE JUSTICE, POLICY, AND SAFETY OF A MAINE LAW FOR ENGLAND.

“Lead us not into Temptation,
But deliver us from Evil.”—THE LORD’S PRAYER.

It is scarcely possible to take up any newspaper, published in any part of England, Scotland, or Ireland, representing any party in politics, or any sect in religion, and whether published daily or weekly, without finding in its columns the record in detail, of some revolting crime, or disgusting exhibition, resulting from the use of intoxicating drinks. Sometimes, it is a brutal street affray, between two angry and furious combatants, maddened with liquor, and involving the bystanders in the quarrel, till apprehended or dispersed by the police. At others, it is the savage treatment of a wife and mother by a drunken and infuriated husband, and not unfrequently the stabbing of a friendly intercessor, who seeks to rescue the victim from her oppressor. Sometimes, it is the story of wretched and starving children, abandoned to the streets by their drunken parents; at another, it is the entrapping a victim into a brothel, by drunken prostitutes,

as was recently done at Glasgow, and, after stripping him of everything worth taking from his person, throwing him headlong from the window on to the pavement, to meet instant death. Again, it is the attempted shooting of a paramour, by a drunken visitor, as happened recently at Dublin, and the subsequent suicide of the unhappy murderer himself. Indeed the catalogue is endless in all its painful varieties, and might well make the reader of these atrocities doubt whether he was living in a Christian and a civilised country, or in a land of demons and savages.

But if to these daily records of violence and crime be added the less obtrusive but equally numerous cases of premature deaths, by accidents arising from drunkenness—whether singly, as in the case of individuals, or wholesale and in large masses, as in shipwrecks at sea, and railroad smashings on shore, more frequently occasioned by the drunkenness of those employed than from almost any other cause; and also the more silent but still more frequently occurring cases of deaths from *delirium tremens*, loss of reason and permanent lunacy, paralysis and incapacity to labour, and other personal injuries in every variety of form, including the vast numbers who by reason of their intemperate habits, and consequent neglect of the ordinary precautions for the preservation of health, are among the earliest and most numerous victims of cholera, typhus, and other epidemic and inflammatory diseases;—putting all these together, it may be said, with the strictest truth, that neither war, with all its bloody achievements, nor slavery, with all its privations and sufferings, are half so productive of crime and misery, as the destructive influences of intoxicating drinks: they neither send so many victims to a premature grave, nor inflict so much wretchedness on those who survive, as is done by the single agency of this destroying poison.

If that which mankind prize above all other things—LIFE, and its healthful enjoyment—be thus ruthlessly cut short and destroyed by this foul fiend:—that which is valued next to Life, and which most contributes to its physical enjoyment—PROPERTY—is equally swept away by this destructive flood;—the sums wasted in the purchase of these drinks—the wholesome and nutritious grain absorbed in their manufacture—the enormous loss of labour directed to the making, transporting, and wholesale and retail distribution of these deleterious beverages—amounting to not less than *a hundred millions sterling!*—or double the entire public revenue of the whole kingdom;—while the expenses following in their train, and resulting almost wholly from their influence, in the increased burthen of rates, taxes, and voluntary contributions, for the maintenance of prisons, hulks, penal colonies, and all the costly machinery of criminal justice,—for the support of the profligate and improvident poor, in workhouses, hospitals, and lunatic and other asylums, the maintenance of a protective police, and other charges incurred for the general safety;—all these add *another hundred millions* at least to the cost!

That these are the evils—and of the greatest conceivable magnitude—destructive alike of life, health, property, character, morality, education, and religion, not only at home, but in our Colonies, and even among the barbarous natives with whom we have an intercourse—no one will presume to deny. Are there any corresponding benefits to place in the opposite scale, that might not be still more effectually obtained by other and better means? The only perceptible one is the enrichment of a few distillers, brewers, and importers of these drinks, who might find more useful and honourable spheres for the employment of their capital, and the exercise of their industry; to which may be added,

perhaps, a few rare instances of the retailers of them occasionally acquiring a competency for their families out of the ill-bestowed expenditure of the labouring poor ;—though the great majority of those who engage in this branch of the traffic, themselves acquire intemperate habits, and often become bankrupt in character and means,—to be succeeded by others who follow their predecessors in a similar career.

Here, then, is the existence of an enormous and undisputed evil, reigning with powerful sway in our midst, more fatally destructive of all the ordinary blessings of existence than war, slavery, pestilence, and famine combined ; since the sphere of each of these is local, and their duration limited and occasional only, while intemperance is, unhappily, more widely spread, more incessant, and more enduring than all ; and with few or no benefits, not easily attainable by other means, to compensate or lessen the injuries it everywhere inflicts.

That we ought not, as patriots, or Christians, or philanthropists, to remain quiescent under such a national calamity as this, without taking some steps to abate the evil thus clearly perceived, seems to be admitted by all who have bestowed any attention whatever on the subject. And the strength of the conviction that it is our duty to *do something to remove it*, as well as to lament over its existence, has led a considerable number of pious and benevolent individuals in America and in Britain, to set in motion a powerful machinery, in the shape of Temperance societies, journals, sermons, lectures, and every available means of persuasion and conviction, to exhibit, in all their hideous deformity, the consequences of intemperance ; and to prevail on as many as possible to abstain entirely from the use of all intoxicating beverages—first, that they might purge themselves from their impurities, and next, that by their example they might strengthen the force of their precepts, and thus more readily induce others to do the same.

This machinery has now been in tolerably active exercise for a period of more than twenty years ; and though it has undoubtedly accomplished great good, wherever its influence has been felt, yet, on comparing the number of those who have been induced by it to abstain entirely from the use of alcoholic liquors with those who still continue them—and, many of these at least, under the delusive impression that they are as beneficial to health as they have been demonstrated by the most able physiologists, chemists, and physicians of the day to be injurious—it must be confessed that the drinkers of strong drinks continue still to form an overwhelming majority of the whole community.

The chief causes of this continued prevalence of a custom so prolific of evil, and so wholly unproductive of good to the masses of the people, appear to be these : 1. The direct pecuniary interest which some of the wealthiest and most influential members of the community have in its retention—including the extensive landholders who find in it an increased demand for their grain, for distillation and brewing. 2. The opulent firms and companies, with their colossal fortunes engaged in the manufacture itself, and also the legion of inferior agents employed in the sale and supply of the intoxicating material, so much more numerous than any other class of retailers as to outnumber, in every town and village of the kingdom, the suppliers of wholesome food, such as butchers, bakers, grocers, and others. 3. The privilege of licensing houses for the sale of such intoxicating drinks is also, unfortunately, in the hands of two powerful bodies, who have a direct pecuniary interest in increasing rather than diminishing their numbers, and enlarging rather than contracting the extent of their sales ; namely, the Excise Office, as a branch of the Government, for the sake of the increased revenue arising from the increased sale of wines and spirits ; and the

county magistrates, often composed of landholders, brewers, distillers, and their friends, largely interested in the property of houses licensed by themselves, the rental of which is artificially enhanced by every increase of the quantities of beer and other liquors sold therein.

This is indeed a formidable phalanx to oppose ; but, with truth and reason for weapons, a consciousness of right for armour, and discretion and perseverance in the direction of the conflict, even these apparently invincible forces may be overcome.

It was the privilege of our descendants in the Northern States of America to be the first pioneers in the Temperance Reformation, some five and twenty years ago, and we have but followed in their steps. It is to the honour of the citizens of one of the northernmost of these States to have advanced still further than had ever been done before in this noble and honourable career. At first their efforts were confined to an entire abstinence from ardent spirits, and a moderate use of wine and malt liquors. After several years' trial of this, it was found that as the "moderate use" was an ever-varying limit which each individual measured for himself to suit his own appetite, it was constantly overstepped ; and that, so long as the taste for stimulants was indulged at all, in ever so slight a degree, it was always liable to go on increasing. The next step, therefore, was to recommend the entire disuse of every description of intoxicating drinks, and the efficiency of this was speedily shown by its producing, in a single year after its adoption, more good than all the previous years under what was denominated the "moderate system." Even this, however, left a large class of the community, and that the most helpless of them, untouched—namely, those who live by their daily labour, and who, from the multiplied temptations

placed in their way by drinking-houses presenting themselves at almost every point of their daily path, were decoyed and seduced to enter them, and there expend a portion of their hard-earned wages, to the injury of their own health and character, and frequently to the sacrifice of all domestic comfort in their homes.

To meet this evil in the only practicable manner, a public-spirited gentleman, Mr. Neal Dow, then mayor of the town of Portland, in the state of Maine—the one next adjoining to our own British province of New Brunswick—conceived the idea of appealing to his fellow citizens, to obtain their concurrence in recommending to the Legislature of the State the passing of a law to *shut up entirely* all the houses engaged in the sale of intoxicating drinks, as wholly unnecessary for the welfare of the community, and productive of incalculable evils to their frequenters; allowing, at the same time, the appointment, by the constituted authorities or council in each town, of a single individual, under heavy responsibilities for the faithful exercise of his power, to be the sole depositary of such distilled spirits as might be thought necessary for use in the arts, and for medical purposes,—to be supplied only under the authority of a regular physician, as any other drug used in a prescription, *without any profit to himself*, and with a record of all the particulars of name, address, time, and quantity supplied, to be preserved for inspection whenever required:—giving power, at the same time, to the magistracy and police of every town, whenever they might find the law disregarded by persons still attempting to keep houses open for the sale of intoxicating drinks, to enter the premises, search them thoroughly, and bringing out all the prohibited liquor they might find, to break the vessels containing it in the open streets, and pour their contents into the common sewer,

to be carried off with all the other refuse and filth of the town.

The passing of such a law, in so democratic a community as that of any of the free states of America, where the slightest infringement of the popular rights is resented by the citizens at large,—did certainly seem as hopeless and impossible an event as could well be conceived. Nevertheless, its triumph was as rapid as the attempt was fearless and bold: and the process by which its triumph was achieved was as democratic as the law seemed to be despotic. The first step was to convince the majority of the moral and thinking classes of the community, that the evils of Intemperance were of an alarming magnitude, and that it would be to the interest of all classes in the end,—and to none more than to the drunkards and their families themselves—and the next was, to have the experiment of closing all the drinking-houses, and putting a stop to the retail traffic, *at least tried*:—the power always existing in the Legislature to repeal the act at any time, should it be found in its practical working to be injurious.

The community were speedily convinced; their petitions and remonstrances to their representatives were effective: and the act now called “The Maine Law,” embodying the provisions adverted to, after passing through the House of Representatives and the Senate, received the sanction of the Governor of the State; going through the same process as our own laws, requiring to be passed by the Commons, and the Peers, and approved by the Crown.

It was put into immediate execution, without any difficulty; and so rapidly did it realise all the benefits anticipated from it, that, long before the expiration of the first year, there was not to be seen a drunken person, or a riot in the streets; the

criminal commitments were so diminished as to leave the prison almost empty ; the poor's rate, police rate, and all the other expenses resulting from the former state of things, were greatly diminished ; the persons whose houses had been closed, and traffic interrupted, found occupation for their capital and labour in other more useful and productive pursuits : and universal satisfaction appeared to be the result. It left private dwellings untouched,—because these are generally not the scenes of debauchery and abuse,—because the inmates of such dwellings generally exercise prudence and discretion, out of respect to the character of themselves and their families,—because they do not inveigle passers-by into their doors to drink, and have no profit arising from the intoxication they cause in others. But, while it thus respected the freedom of the domestic hearth, it destroyed, at one fell swoop, *the host of tempters*, who fatten upon the intemperance of the working classes—decking out their houses and their wares with every incitement, and often the most vicious ones, to allure them to their destruction.

An attempt was made, by interested parties, to obtain a repeal of this law ; but it was confirmed by a larger majority than that by which it was originally passed. And a third time, when its overthrow was again attempted, it was all but unanimously affirmed, and made even more stringent than ever—so that it is now believed to be beyond all danger of repeal.

It was but natural that so splendid an example as this should be imitated in other States ; and accordingly, since then, “The Maine Law” has been adopted in full force by the wealthy, intelligent, and free States of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Vermont, Michigan, Iowa, and Minnesota ; and, in all probability, it will soon be adopted also by Con-

necticut, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, comprehending, therefore, the most advanced and influential section of all the American Union. Nor has the portion of the British dominions in America, which adjoins to Maine, namely, the Province of New Brunswick, been able to escape the beneficial contagion, as its Legislature has also adopted the Maine Law, with some slight modification, which received the royal assent, by the Signature of Queen Victoria, in August, 1852; and Canada is now in full agitation for a participation in the same happy privilege.

Now, if this law has been a blessing to the States and Provinces in which it has been enacted, what is to hinder its adoption in England? The evils of Intemperance are at least as great in this country, even at the present moment, as they were in that in which the Maine Law originated, or in those which have since incorporated it among their statutes; and as the laws of nature, the state of society, the code of morals, and the acknowledged duties of religion, are the same in each, there is no reason to doubt but that its enactment in England would produce all the good which its execution has effected wherever the experiment has yet been tried.

It may be worth while, therefore, to examine the grounds on which it can be proved that such a law would be perfectly constitutional—in harmony with all the best maxims of jurisprudence—conformable not merely to ancient precedents, but to daily practice—and in no degree hostile to rational liberty, or in violation of that freedom of action rightly belonging to every honest citizen, whenever his conduct does not produce injury to others—a condition within which all civilised liberty is wisely and justly circumscribed.

The very foundation of the constitution of England is

based on the doctrine, *Salus populi suprema lex*—"The public weal is the supreme law;" otherwise expressed in the maxim, "The greatest good of the greatest number is the avowed object of the government, constitution, and laws of the realm." And to achieve this "greatest good of the greatest number," every member of the commonwealth cheerfully resigns a portion of that individual liberty of action, which is exercised without limit only in savage life, by placing himself under the control of the law for the purpose of enjoying its protection. On this principle, every man, whether it be agreeable to him or not, is compelled to contribute his portion to the rates, taxes, and imposts, by which alone a revenue can be raised, or a government maintained. In the event of an epidemic visiting our shores, every man, whether he like it or not, is subject, on arriving by sea, to be detained in quarantine, or if residing on land, to conform to such directions as a Sanitary Commission, duly empowered, may order for the public good. If a manufacturer establishes an unwholesome trade in any locality, the inhabitants of which may be injured by the fumes or emanations proceeding therefrom, it may be removed, at whatever sacrifice to its owner, for the preservation of the public health. If a gunpowder magazine be found in too close proximity to human dwellings, it may be compulsorily displaced, for the public safety. The closing up of burial grounds, rendered sacred by centuries of use in the eyes of those whose ancestors or friends have their dust deposited therein, may be lawfully enforced. The consumption of their own smoke by steamboats and factories, whether the proprietors approve of it or not, may be compelled by law, on the grounds of public safety and benefit. Putrid meat, fish, or other provisions deemed unwholesome, may be lawfully seized, burnt, and destroyed. Sailing ships, steamboats, stage-coaches, omni-

buses, and all kinds of public conveyances, may be limited, and subject to inspection and restraint, with penalties for infringing regulations, in a variety of ways ; and all this on the principle that "public welfare being the supreme law, all other considerations must yield it precedence."

Now, if any one will take the trouble to compare the amount of injury to life, health, property, morals, or religion, by any of the above enumerated evils, over which the law and constitution of England exercise such power, to modify, abate, or suppress altogether, with the evils occasioned by the use of intoxicating drinks, and their traffic and sale among the labouring classes especially, he will see that, in atrocity, amount, or extent, all the long catalogue of these enumerated evils put together are but an insignificant fraction of the great whole ; and will be convinced that all of them united are infinitely less than the single gigantic evil of Intemperance, and its daily, nay hourly, destructive results. It is, therefore, a literal exemplification of the Scriptural phrase of "straining at the gnat and swallowing the camel," to be legislating for the suppression of the smaller evils, and letting the *monster evil of all* go untouched.

But yet, it is not, happily, ENTIRELY untouched. Already the constitutional power to deal with the evil, and subject it to some control, is admitted ; and we have both law and custom on our side, as precedents, to justify, not the exercise of a new power, but morely an extension of the existing one. Already the law prohibits the public sale of spirituous liquors without a license, to which it has the right and power to affix its own conditions. If it were a wholesome and innocent traffic, why not make it as free as the sale of meat and bread ? The law further limits the hours at which the houses

for their sale may be opened—under penalties for infraction ; and latterly, it has enforced their being shut up, in England for a portion of the Sabbath, and in Scotland for the whole of that day. If the traffic were a useful and honourable one, why restrain it by law, any more than the sale of raiment for the body, or books for the mind ? The very interference of the Legislature with this traffic, is grounded on a conviction of the necessity of limiting and restraining an acknowledged evil ; and thus, to such an extent, at least, promoting the public good.

What possible harm, then, could arise from the shutting up such houses and suppressing the traffic *altogether* ? Will it be answered, “The invasion of private property ?” But this is done when brothels and gaming-houses are closed, or illicit manufactures are seized and shut up, when nuisances are removed, or when putrid meat and fish are burnt and destroyed, and all this forcibly and by law. But if, by such a change, the traffickers in intoxicating drinks should be obliged to seek some less publicly injurious occupation, this change would be no greater than that which arises from the cessation of a war, and the disbanding of troops and seamen, each to seek new spheres of employment elsewhere ; the change from sailing vessels to steamers—from stage coaches to railways—from hand-loom weaving to steam-power looms—from needlework by the hand, to lacemaking, embroidery, and sewing by machinery—from the change, in short, from any one article of taste or fashion to any other in equally general consumption, or when extensively used or demanded.

No privation need be suffered by the man who possessed, or who chose to make a home, which, by sobriety and industry, is within the reach of every artizan and labourer in the kingdom. His house or his apartment would be as much his

castle as that of the baron or duke, and he might dwell there unmolested and unintruded on, so long as he obeyed the law. The only persons who might pretend to be inconvenienced by it, are the floating and isolated individuals of the labouring classes, who *have no homes* because they spend so large a portion of their earnings in smoking and drinking. To them, at first, the loss of the gin-palace and the beer-shop, as the place of morning call or evening resort, would perhaps be felt as a grievance; but the absence of these tempting snares and pitfalls would be the greatest boon that could be bestowed on them. A single month of abstinence from intoxicating liquors would improve their health and strength, and save them all the days and hours they now waste over the pot and pipe; and a single year of sobriety would put money in their pockets, now serving to swell the publican's gains, place wholesome food in greater abundance within their reach, cover them with more ample clothing, progressively furnish their little homes agreeably; and, if married, would also place their wives and children in more respectable and comfortable circumstances, give them the means of education, and the opportunity of attending the ordinances of religion; raising them, in short, from mere "toilers for others"—passing their lives in an endless round of hopeless and interminable labour, to free, independent, and industrious "founders of their own fortunes;" enabling them to look forward, as every man in the humblest walk of life ought to do, to a serene old age, in possession of a reasonable competency, using his experience and information for the benefit of his fellow men in this stage of existence, and preparing to enter with tranquillity and hope on that higher state of being, to which the humblest is as undoubted and immortal an heir as the highest and the noblest in the land.

"A Maine Law for England," would, in my humble judg-

ment, go far to realise these blessings for that portion of our population which stand most in need of them; and to show that this is no newly conceived opinion of mine, but the result of careful consideration, after examining all the evidence that could be adduced on the subject, I here transcribe three short paragraphs from the "Report" which it was my province to draw up, as Chairman of the "Parliamentary Committee" appointed to inquire into the "Causes and Remedies for Intemperance," in 1834 (fifteen years before the Maine Law was thought of in America), in which it will be seen that its chief provisions were in reality then *anticipated*; as, under the head of "Ultimate or Prospective Remedies," I ventured to recommend the following:—

"1.—The absolute prohibition of the importation, from any foreign country or from our own colonies, of distilled spirits in any shape.

"2.—The equally absolute prohibition of all distillation of ardent spirits from grain, the most important part of the food of man, in our own country.

"3.—The restriction of distillation from other materials to the purposes of the arts, manufactures, and medicine; and the confining the wholesale and retail dealing in such articles to chemists, druggists, and dispensaries alone."

Here, then, is the sum and substance of "The Maine Law"—*and something more*—presented by me to Parliament twenty years ago. But let us have the Maine Law first, and its successful operation will pave the way for "*the something more*," which another twenty years perhaps may realise.

Simultaneously with this shutting up of all the gin-palaces, dram-shops, and beer-houses of the kingdom (leaving only the hotels and inns for travellers and strangers open, and these under the same stringent prohibition against the supply of intoxicating drinks, with heavy penalties and forfeiture of

license for any infraction of the law), it would be indispensable that attractive and appropriate places of social meeting should be provided to supply their place. Man is a social being, and naturally desires cheerful and friendly intercourse and communication with his fellow men—a desire which it is honourable to entertain, and both safe and politic to indulge. It is this desire, indeed, more than a mere love of liquor, which first induces men to frequent the drinking places of the town or village in which they reside, these being the only places almost at which this desire can now be gratified; and the payment which they are required to make for the accommodation afforded them being exacted in the purchase of spirits or beer,—the taste is insensibly formed for these drinks, and the appetite for them progressively increasing with its indulgence, they pass unconsciously from originally sober men to ultimately confirmed sots.

In every town and village, therefore, let there be opened, in numbers proportioned to the working population, and in conveniently placed localities, easily accessible to residents in different quarters,—capacious public halls, furnished with fires and lights at the municipal or parish expense (and the cost would soon be saved in diminished poor and police rates alone), to which *admission should be entirely free* for all who desired to enter them and pass their leisure evenings there—to hear the news of the day, converse with their fellow labourers and acquaintances, and enjoy, free of all cost, the comforts of a warm fire, a well lighted and well ventilated room, and the conversation of companions of their own selection.

If more than this was desired, it might be furnished at the most reasonable rates—sufficient to cover little more than the bare cost price—such as access to an adjoining reading-room

for papers, periodicals, and books, at a penny for each evening ; a cup of tea or coffee, with bread and butter, for threepence ; but all intoxicating drinks and tobacco absolutely prohibited, and all persons guilty, in the opinion of the superintendent of the room, of noisy interruption, quarrelling, obscene conversation, profane swearing, or other disorderly conduct, to be expelled from the hall, and excluded from its use for a given period—the name, address, and reason of the expulsion to be affixed in some conspicuous part of the room for general information.

Musie, lectures, discussions, exhibitions, and every innocent form of instruction and entertainment, might be safely added, when intoxicating drinks were excluded.

If to such open halls as these, for those portions of the year in which shelter and warmth are desirable, were added, in all large towns especially, open parks, gardens, and public walks for recreation in the seasons when these would be most agreeable—and subject, of course, to the same regulations for the preservation of sobriety and order—everything would be provided for the comfort, instruction, and enjoyment of the very humblest classes of society, and the loss of the gin-shop and beer-shop would soon be discovered, even by themselves, to be an immense gain.

To enable these classes, however, to enjoy as they ought to do, the advantages thus proposed to be placed within the reach of all—it is essential that *all should be educated*;—for newspapers and books are of course mere waste paper to those who cannot read : and even the pleasures of conversation in the sheltered hall, or the walk in the public garden, are tame and limited to the uneducated person—while both become more enlarged and delightful to those whose minds are cultivated, whose faculties of observation are trained to

active exercise, whose topics of discourse are multiplied by reading, and whose knowledge of animated nature, as well as of rocks, trees, plants, shrubs and flowers, gives them a ten-fold interest when observing them in all their beautiful varieties.

That this provision of halls and reading rooms for the winter months, and public walks and gardens for the spring and summer ones, is not a new project, now proposed by me for the first time, may be shown by the fact, that they formed a portion also of the measures recommended by me in the "Parliamentary Report" of 1834, before referred to; and Bills were brought in by me in the House of Commons, for carrying them into execution, in 1835. But, like almost every other proposition that I have ventured to make for elevating and improving the condition of the labouring classes,—they were treated as "Utopian," and were condemned as "wholly impracticable"—though during the twenty years that have since elapsed, public opinion has so far advanced as to admit their reasonableness, at least; and both public parks, as well as libraries and museums, have considerably increased in number since then—though still far, far short of what is yet required by the whole community, which it is hoped, if not the present generation, our immediate posterity will not fail to supply.

The following are the paragraphs of the "Parliamentary Report," recommending the adoption of the measures therein proposed—which were thought at the time "so extravagant and absurd," that their author was denounced by the leading journals of the day, as "a visionary, and a dreamer, fit only for Bedlam,"—and an opposition was raised in the House of Commons, and supported by many members, even to the *Printing of the Report*, on the ground that "its absurdity would have

a tendency to bring disrepute on the wisdom of that august assembly !”

They will be read it is hoped, with more favourable feelings now. They are as follow :—

“ 4.—The establishment, by the joint aid of the Government and the local authorities and residents on the spot, of public walks and gardens, with places for athletic and healthy exercises in the open air, in the immediate vicinity of every town, of an extent and character adapted to its population; and of district and parish libraries, museums, and reading rooms, accessible at the lowest rate of charge: so as to admit of one or the other being visited in any weather, and at any time; with a rigid exclusion of all intoxicating drinks of every kind, from all such places, whether in the open air or closed.

“ 5.—The reduction of the duty on tea, coffee, and sugar, and all the healthy and unintoxicating articles of drink in ordinary use; so as to place within the reach of all classes the least injurious beverages, on much cheaper terms than the most destructive.

“ 6.—The removal of all taxes on knowledge, and the extending every facility to the widest spread of useful information to the humblest classes of the community.

“ 7.—A national system of education, which should ensure the means of instruction to all ranks and classes of the people; and which, in addition to the various branches of requisite and appropriate knowledge, should embrace, as an essential part of the instruction given by it to every child in the kingdom, accurate information as to the poisonous and invariably deleterious nature of ardent spirits as an article of diet, in every form and shape; as well as the inculcation of a sense of shame, at the crime of voluntarily destroying, or thoughtlessly obscuring, that faculty of reasoning, and that consciousness of responsibility, which chiefly distinguishes man from the brute, and which his Almighty Maker, when He created him in His own image, implanted in the human race, to cultivate, to improve, and to refine—and not to corrupt, to brutalize, and to destroy.”

These were the legislative enactments recommended and attempted by me twenty years ago. May another, more

fortunate than myself, arise in Parliament, to accomplish their consummation;—and if “A MAINE LAW FOR ENGLAND” be first secured, the rest will speedily follow.

Manchester.

J. S. BUCKINGHAM.

Dying Charge of the late Judge Talfourd.

Among the recent public events which have drawn attention to the evils wrought by intemperate habits among the labouring classes of the population, the sudden death of Mr. Justice Talfourd, while delivering his charge to the Grand Jury from the bench, and dwelling on this prolific cause of crime, may be mentioned as one of the most striking; and the Alliance has wisely availed itself of this touching event to put forth the following address on the subject in the columns of the *Atlas*, from which it is transcribed:—

“The recent melancholy event in Stafford Court-house has given to the national mind such an impressive view of the enormous evils of intemperance, as the exciting cause and prolific source of CRIME, and consequent social wretchedness, that it is to be hoped the time is not distant when some grand, national, and effective check or remedy will be wisely devised and earnestly enforced. The solemn testimony and dying appeals of Mr. Justice Talfourd cannot but awaken a salutary reflection, in proportion as they have produced a profound and painful sensation. It was no novel utterance, but the mere reiteration, with unusually solemn emphasis, of what has been stated again and again from every judicial bench in Christendom. The mournful circumstance which has given such intense and enduring interest to the solemn declaration of Judge Talfourd does not make the testimony more true, though it cannot fail to render it more affecting and memorable. Before citing the last words of the deceased judge, the echo of whose voice has scarcely ceased, and of whom it will long be said ‘being dead, he yet

speakeeth,' we will adduce a few other judicial utterances of the same character, from the multitude that might be given, some of them from voices now hushed in the solemn calm of death, and others still to be heard in our court-houses, from term to term, wailing over the heavy calendars of atrocious crimes, and deploring '*the greatest English vice,*' the vice of drunkenness, as the foul and fatal cause of almost every social offence which stains the annals of our Christian land, making us a byword and a reproach amongst the nations of the earth.

"Sir Matthew Hale, the ever to be venerated Chief Justice of the King's Bench, nearly two centuries ago, recorded the following testimony in reference to the connection between crime and strong drink:—'I have found that if the murders, burglaries, robberies, riots, tumults, adulteries, rapes, and other enormities that have been committed (during the last twenty years) were divided into *five* parts, *four* of them have been the product of excessive drinking.'

"Lord Gillies, in 1832, directed the attention of the Sheriff and magistrates of Glasgow to the fact that there were not less than 1,300 public-houses in the royalty. His lordship stated that he could not but be sensible of the fact that the *facilities* thus afforded to the indulgence of intemperate habits *were the principal cause of the crime that prevailed*; he therefore directed their most serious attention to the lessening of public-houses. (Have they done so? and why not?)

"Judge Erskine declared at the Salisbury assizes, when passing sentence on a prisoner, for a crime committed under the influence of intoxicating liquor, 'that *ninety-nine out of every hundred* criminal cases were from the same cause.'

"Mr. Justice Patteson, addressing the grand jury at Norwich, said, '*If it were not for this drinking, you and I would have nothing to do.*'

"Baron Alderson, when passing sentence on a man who had killed another in a drunken fray, said, 'If all men could be dissuaded from the use of intoxicating liquors, *the office of a judge would be a sinecure.*'

"Judge Coleridge, at the Oxford assizes, declared 'that *he never*

knew a case brought before him which was not directly or indirectly connected with intoxicating liquors.'

"Mr. Justice Williams, in his charge to the jury at York, in 1846, observed 'that the experience of these assizes had proved, *that all the crime which had filled the castle*, was to be traced, either in one way or another, to the habit of drunkenness, which appeared to be very prevalent, and tended so much to the disgrace of that large county.'

"Judge Wightman, in his address to the grand jury, at the Crown-court, Liverpool, in August, 1846, said 'that of the *ninety-two* prisoners whose names were on the calendar, *six* were charged with wilful murder, *twelve* with manslaughter, *thirteen* with malicious injury to the person, *sixteen* with burglary, and *eight* with highway robbery, accompanied with violence to the person. He found, from a perusal of the depositions, *one unfailing cause* of the four-fifths of these crimes was, *as it was in every other calendar*, the besetting sin of drunkenness. In almost all the cases of personal violence and injury, the scene was a *public-house* or a *beer-shop*.'

"The late Judge Gurney declared '*that every crime has its origin more or less in drunkenness*.'

"We might go on multiplying these testimonies almost *ad infinitum*. All the judges of the land express but one conviction:—That the grand *incentive to crime* of every kind is to be found in our *national vice of drunkenness*. No judge ever expressed a contrary opinion; and no man of sane mind can doubt the correctness of this conclusion. Nothing but apathy, and appetite, and the iron sway of custom, and fashion, and habit, could withstand the application and force of the momentous lesson involved in this awful and unanimous verdict. But it is no easy task to gain the *attention* of a people so besotted and reckless as those must be who squander on one lustful indulgence seventy millions sterling annually. But surely they will hear and heed the faithful testimony which has just fallen from the lips of one whose earnest and deep emotion gave force and significance to words that nothing but the solemnity of the sudden public death of the speaker, whilst yet delivering his fearful message, could further emphasise!

"On Monday, the 13th instant, Mr. Justice Talfourd, while no

the bench, and addressing the grand jury, at Stafford Court-house, suddenly expired. The cause of death was apoplexy, brought on, as it appeared, by the excited feelings under which his lordship was addressing the grand jury, in reference to the atrocious crimes by which the calendar of that county was stained, even more than on ordinary occasions; owing, as it appeared to his lordship, to the increased prosperity of the district, which furnished the working classes with more ample means for squandering upon indulgence in intoxicating drinks. The calendar contained a list of 100 prisoners, many of them charged with the most atrocious crimes against life, and person, and property. There were seventeen cases of manslaughter, and thirty cases where persons were charged with the crime of highway robbery. These crimes, his lordship observed, might be traced in a vast number of cases to the vice of intemperance, which was so prevalent in the mining district. These were his last words:—

“No doubt that the exciting cause in the far larger number of these cases—the exciting cause that every judge has to deplore in every county of this land—is that which was justly called in the admirable discourse to which I listened yesterday from the sheriff’s chaplain, “the greatest English vice,” which makes us a by-word and a reproach amongst nations, who in other respects are inferior to us, and have not the same noble principles of Christianity to guide and direct them—I mean the vice of drunkenness. No doubt that this in most of these cases is the immediate cause, and it is a cause in two ways of the crimes which will come before you, and especially of the crime of highway robbery; for whereas on the one hand it stirs up evil, awakens malice, and kindles the slumbering passions of the human heart, and puts the reason into a state of twilight; so, on the other hand, it points out the victim as the person to be robbed, by presenting temptations to those who see him exposing his money in public-house after public-house—or in a state of drunkenness he finds himself a sharer in a sin, from which domestic ties should keep him, and is overtaken by his partner in that sin, who adds to it another crime, or he is marked out by some of her wicked associates. One great evil of this circumstance is, I think, you will find, looking at the depositions one after the other, that it is a mere repetition of the same story over again—of some man who has gone from public-house to public house, spending his money and exhibiting his money, and is marked out by those who observe him as the fitting object for plunder, when his senses are

obseured, and who is made the subject of an attack under those circumstances, which enable the parties to escape from the consequences; because, although the story may be perfectly true which the prosecutor in this case tells—although it may be vividly felt by him—yet he is obliged to confess—'

"Here the learned judge suddenly ceased speaking, and in a few minutes the melancholy fact became painfully manifest that those who had heard him had been listening to his last words, and that he was no more."

Lest it should be supposed, however, from this emphatic charge, and its tragical interruption by death, that intemperate habits are confined exclusively to the labouring classes, and the criminal population, the interests of truth demand that it should be added, that among the most highly educated, and in all other respects the least criminal portion of the community, these habits are not so rare as we could desire them to be; and it is mainly to the force of these examples in the upper ranks of society, and the constant tendency of the inferior classes to imitate the manners and practice of those above them in the social scale, that these habits have descended downwards in society, from a period when it was thought characteristic of a "gentleman,"—a man of spirit, and of wit—to be more or less intoxicated every night, so late even as the reign of George the Fourth, when the monarch himself, whose great pride it was to be considered "the first gentleman in Europe," rarely or ever went to bed sober.

Though there has, no doubt, been a considerable change for the better, in the habits of the English gentry, as to the intemperate use of wine and stimulating drinks, since then, and though education is much relied on as a preservative against the evil practice, it is unfortunately far from being obliterated. In the course of a single week, in the month of March last, there appeared in the public journals—1. The

case of a young nobleman allied to one of the highest families in the land, dying suddenly on board one of the ships of war forming the Baltic fleet, of which he was an officer, just at the moment of their sailing—from the effects of extreme intemperance. 2. The sudden death of a Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, in a house of ill-fame, on a Sunday. 3. The suspension from his clerical duties of a Rector of the Established Church, by the Bishop of the diocese, for intemperate habits. 4. The bringing up a member of Parliament at the police office in London, where he was fined forty shillings for being found drunk and disorderly. But what is perhaps more striking and emphatic still, is the fact, which no one has yet had the courage to mention, though it is due to the cause of Truth and Temperance that it should be publicly known, namely, that the late Mr. Justice Talfourd, whose splendid talents and many amiable qualities only make the contrast more striking, was himself what is called a “high-liver,” not merely fond of wine, but so indulging in its use as to be painfully visible in what are called convivial meetings; and in all probability this habit, continued through a long series of years, laid the foundation of the apoplectic fit in which he was so suddenly summoned from life, at the very moment of his lamenting, with so much eloquence, and no doubt genuine feeling of sorrow, the intemperance of the labouring classes. Whoever has read Mr. Talfourd’s “Vacation Rambles,” descriptive of his Tour in Switzerland, can hardly fail to have remarked the *gusto* with which he dwells on the charms of wine and brandy, and the exultation with which he speaks of the privilege and pleasure of living in a country where both can be had easily, and the former used for breakfast, instead of tea or coffee. No man who did not really consider these stimulants to be the source of the highest gratification, would

write of them with such zest and earnestness as this author has done.

The late Professor Wilson, of Edinburgh, is another example of the combination of great talents with a most intemperate use of intoxicating drinks. The "*Noctes Ambrosianæ*,"—as the midnight revels of the chief writers in "*Blackwood's Magazine*," who held their bacchanalian orgies at Ambrose's Hotel, in Edinburgh, were called,—furnish abundant proof of the convivial habits of these "instructors of the people." And I remember well, on the last occasion of my being in Edinburgh, in 1850, hearing that the Professor had been warned by his medical friends that unless he diminished his usual consumption of whisky toddy, amounting to several tumblers after his dinner, daily, he would soon suffer paralysis, as the premonitory warning of approaching death, which was unhappily soon after realised. The extensive prevalence of this habit of drinking whisky to excess, by the ministers of the Church in Scotland, is painfully visible to all strangers who pass through the country and mingle at all in society; and, though the instances are hushed up, and kept as secret as possible, it is, nevertheless, notorious that very many of the Scottish clergy are degraded from their pulpits every year, by reason of their intemperate habits, though these must be of long standing, and inveterate in the extreme, to subject the parties to what is so calculated to bring scandal on the body at large.

Two of the most popular poets ever produced by Scotland, Robert Burns and Thomas Campbell, were melancholy instances of the union of great talent with fearful intemperance; and the closing years of the Bard of Hope, were witnessed by his best friends with the deepest sorrow. Byron, in his eulogies on gin-and-water, and Moore, in his *Anacreontics*

and Irish Melodies, did their share also to exalt the enjoyment of wine, and clothe the vice of intemperance with all the fascination of which their pens were capable; and Charles Lamb, Hartley Coleridge, Edgar Poe, and Robert Haydon, all had their days cut short by drinking: while Barry Cornwall, in his English Songs, most of which have been set to music, and thus their powers of mischief strengthened and expanded, gives utterance to such strains as these in his Songs, published by Mr. Moxon:—

Oh, Trinity Ale is stout and good,
Whether in bottle it be, or wood;
'Tis good at morning, 'tis good at night,
(Ye should drink while the liquor is bubbling bright,)
'Tis good for man, for woman, and child,
Being neither too strong nor yet too mild,
It strengthens the body, it strengthens the mind,
And hitteth the toper's taste refined

Why doth the bottle stand, boys?
Let the glass go silent round!
Wine should go
As the blood doth flow,
Its course, without pause or sound.
Scorn not wine! Truth divine
And courage dwell with noble wine.

Drink, and fill the night with mirth!
Let us have a mighty measure,
Till we quite forget the earth
And soar into a world of pleasure.
Drink, and let a health go round,
('Tis the drinker's noble duty),
Drink, and fill your throats with mirth!
Drink, and drown the world in pleasure!

As a contrast and commentary on these effusions of the distempered brain, the following is only one of numerous similar cases, occurring in every part of the British dominions, as well as in America, from indulgence in these so-called pleasures; though every effort is made by the friends of the unfortunate victims to throw the veil of silence and oblivion over the story of their end, whenever practicable; and there-

fore not one perhaps in a hundred of the cases that really occur, are ever publicly known to the world. When one of the ancient philosophers of Greece was asked whether it was safe to speak of any man's career as fortunate or happy, he replied, "Not until it was brought to a close by death, as then alone it could be clearly seen throughout its whole extent." Mr. Barry Cornwall's votaries of pleasure, therefore, have their end to be considered as well as their beginning and their middle term of life ; and here is an example, from a very recent record of the present year, taken from a public newspaper, of the kind of end that frequently terminates their delirium of momentary delights.

"We see it announced in the newspapers that Ovid F. Johnson, formerly Attorney General of Pennsylvania, and a brother, we believe of the late Governor of that State, died a few days ago in Washington, a most melancholy death. He had been picked up from the gutter in a state of intoxication and sent to the vagrant department of the workhouse, where he ended his sad career. Poor Johnson ! A man of talents, education, and society—a man who might have been the pride of his family and an ornament to his State, has perished as a drunken vagrant. What a blessing the Maine Liquor Law would be to the city of Washington !" —*Herald*.

When such are the lives and deaths, and such the labours of some of the most distinguished poets and professed teachers of the reading portion of the community, it is time indeed to endeavour to stem the pernicious influence of their examples and writings by associations and alliances formed on the safer foundations of Scriptural truth, of physiological science, and of political and moral statistics, as well as the testimony of physicians, judges, magistrates, and others intimately conversant with the extent and causes of the disease, crime, and poverty engendered by the ale, wine, and spirits, thus eulogized and commended ; but which, as Solomon truly said two thousand years ago, and all history and ex-

perience has since proved its truth, "in the end it stingeth like an adder, and biteth like a serpent."

It is encouraging, however, to see some of the highest and the noblest in intellect as well as rank, coming forth to give their open testimony and public advocacy in favour of Temperance and the Maine Law. The Earl of Harrington has given in his adhesion to the Alliance, and made an excellent speech on the subject. The Duke of Sutherland, the Duke of Argyll, the Earl of Zetland, the Earl of Shaftesbury, and the Earl of Harrowby, have all given practical proof of their earnest desire to promote the entire abandonment of intoxicating drinks among the tenantry of their own estates, and in the community generally. Every week indeed new adhesions to the Temperance cause from the upper ranks are being proclaimed; and when Royalty shall set the fashion in England, as King Oscar and his Queen have done in Sweden, we shall see a much more rapid conversion of the dignitaries of Church and State than has ever yet been witnessed.

Labours of Scientific Men.

During the last few months, an alarm has been raised as to the re-appearance of cholera in the country, and a recollection of the fearful ravages it committed at Newcastle and other places in the north during the last year, makes many tremble at the sound of its approach. But for the all-absorbing topic of the war with Russia, we should probably have heard much more of the disease; but enough has been made public to excite apprehension for its spread at least. Should that unhappily take place during the approaching warm weather, we shall have the usual expensive array of Sanitary Boards and Commissioners; and the questions of draining, sewerage, model lodging houses, ventilation, and cleanliness, will be discussed in all the journals of the kingdom. Many

will be for plucking the leaves, and some will be for lopping the branches, of this Upas tree ; but the wisest physicians will look at its root, and if that be poisonous, will recommend that instead of this poison being allowed to circulate through the trunk, and give its pestiferous odour to the air, which it would continue to do even if the leaves and branches were all removed, the safest way would be to pluck it up entirely, or hew it down and cast it into the fire, the fate which Divine authority assigns to every tree that bringeth forth evil fruit—and this is the only produce of the tree in question. We rejoice, therefore, to find that Dr. Carpenter, the first physiologist of the day, has entered the field against the common enemy, and won new laurels by his brief but masterly exposition of the influence of Intemperance in producing cholera, which has been published in the *London Weekly News*.

A new work of surpassing interest has also just appeared in America from the pen of Mr. Edward L. Youmans, Professor of Chemistry, entitled “Alcohol, and the Constitution of Man ; being a Popular and Scientific Account of the Chemical History and Properties of Alcohol, and its leading Effects upon the Healthy Human Constitution.” It may take rank with Dr. Carpenter’s Prize Essay, “On the Use and Abuse of Aleoholic Liquors,” and higher praise can hardly be awarded to it.

Voices from Europe, Asia, and Polynesia.

We have seen the noble share which America has had in producing and advancing the Temperance Reformation, and our own British province of New Brunswick, adjoining to the State of Maine, has had the honourable distinction of being the first to follow the example of the neighbouring State, while Canada is fast advancing to the same position. It may be worth our while therefore to turn

our regards for a moment to some other portions of the globe, to see what is saying and doing upon the same important subject there. We commence with Finland and Sweden.

The following extract is taken from a letter from Finland, dated 20th August, 1853, addressed to Wm. Tanner, Ashley-grange, Bristol. After describing the effects of a long-continued drought, during the spring of this year, and which, it appears, has placed that country, and others in Northern Europe, on the verge of a famine, rendering their prospects exceedingly gloomy, the writer proceeds to observe—

“We are, however, in hope that an immense good will come out of it. By the earnest endeavours of some well-disposed, both in Sweden and Finland, the attention of the government has been drawn to the great evil of distilling brandy; thereby probably destroying more than half the slender means of subsistence, so that complete famine would be inevitable. The inhabitants of Sweden, numbering about three millions, consume nearly fifty million cans of brandy annually, a quantity which finds no parallel in the whole world. In Finland it is pretty much the same. Our neighbouring parish, which is a very poor one, contains six thousand inhabitants, and three thousand tons of rye are annually turned into brandy for their consumption, a quantity sufficient to supply them with bread for the next three months. In consideration of the present gloomy prospects a loud cry has been raised that government ought to prohibit entirely the distillation of brandy for the present year; and that if the advantages, which in every respect would result from such a measure, should be such as the friends of Temperance have long pointed out, then distillation ought to be abolished for ever. Government has listened to these remonstrances, and the subject is now under serious consideration. You may well suppose with what anxious expectation the decision is looked for. The Temperance cause has never made greater progress than in the last three months, and it seems as if some great steps will be taken in the right direction, at least, as relates to Finland and Sweden. The King of Sweden has already, from his own conviction, gone so far as to restrain the period of distilling from six to two months; but a proposition is to be made to the Diet in December to prohibit distillation

entirely, at least, for this year, on trial. The first physician in Sweden, Dr. Huss, has written a very able treatise on the influence of brandy, and by an order of the King 100,000 copies are to be distributed throughout the length and breadth of the country, to spread information on the subject. Here also, in Finland, several patriots have united to collect a large sum of money for the distribution of the same book. Dr. Huss sets forth the frightful consequences of brandy-drinking as well to the body as to the soul, and calls on his countrymen, in the most feeling language, to have compassion on their offspring if they will not think of themselves. We cannot but hope that good will come out of it, and then we may well call the present distress a blessing in disguise."

In confirmation of the views of our correspondent, we have great pleasure in appending the following extract from an American paper, which shows in a remarkable manner that the eyes of all Europe are directed to the working of the Maine Law :—

"A note has been received in Maine from the official representative to the United States government of the King of Sweden, asking for information in relation to the operation of the Maine Law upon poverty, pauperism, and crime, and the general interests of Maine. He was instructed by his sovereign to procure this information to be transmitted to Sweden."

In India the Temperance question was agitated so long ago as 1836, by the lamented and venerable Arehdeacon Jefferies, who, in that year, published his remarkable work, entitled, "Charges against Custom and Public Opinion, for the following high crimes and misdemeanors—1. For having stolen away the senses of mankind, and on sundry occasions driven the world mad. 2. For their outrageous appetites in having eaten up the understanding and the conscience: and, 3. For having feloniously put stones into the heart." Published by Smith and Elder, Cornhill, Booksellers to *their Majesties*. Copies of these were sent to King William, and the good Queen Adelaide, and coming from a dignitary of the Established Church it was not looked upon with the suspicion that attaches to other labours of a similar kind, by

less eminent persons in the eyes of the aristocracy. By its pages the members of the Bombay Government, and the East India Company, were made fully acquainted with the tremendous and increasing ravages which spirit-drinking—first made familiar to the Hindoos and Mahommedans by the example of their rulers—was committing among the native population, as well as the stumbling-block which it offered to all successful labours of the missionaries, to convert them to a belief in the Gospel of Christ. Nevertheless, the cupidity for gain, which has ever characterised the rule of these “merchant princes,” as they have been called, though now no longer entitled to the appellation, overruled all considerations of moral improvement, and a sober race of people have been changed into a drunken one, to a great extent at least, by the efforts made by their rulers to encourage the drinking of spirits for the sake of the revenue derived from it.

An Appeal from Australia.

Is there yet any other portion of our extended dominion that suffers under a similar curse? Alas! one of the most remote in point of distance, though most recent in date of foundation among all our varied Colonies, is even in a worse condition still. These are two passages only, out of a hundred that might be copied, taken from the two leading daily papers of that Colony, the *Argus* and the *Herald* :—

DRUNKENNESS IN AUSTRALIA.—The Melbourne *Argus* writes :—
“The paramount cause of crime here is drunkenness—a vice which has risen to a really fearful height. It would almost seem as if large masses of the population had no resource in their hours of leisure except drinking, even although their circumstances are comfortable, and they have every inducement to sobriety and self-respect. Hence drunkenness is here the prevalent vice amongst people who cannot be called by the depreciatory title of ‘the poorer classes.’ Grog-selling is the most general, and by far the most lucrative, of all

trades. The publicans are, beyond all comparison, the most wealthy class in the community, although from the abuses in the licensing system, and the negligence of the magistracy, many of that body are men of the very worst class, and ought by no means to have been intrusted with powers of such extended mischief. On the diggings the traffic is illegal, but it is not the less general on that account. In this fact, some members of the Legislature, and we regret to say, the Government, find an argument for legalising spirit-selling on the diggings; and another attempt to get this done is to be made during the present session. Whether successful or not, the practical result—the prevalence of drunkenness—remains the same; and *that* is so undeniable and so disastrous a fact, that for our own part we see no means of grappling with the evil, except the introduction of some stringent measure for the prohibition of the sale of spirits. To this conviction the more intelligent and moral part of the community are fast coming round; and the press, almost without exception, accords in it; an unanimity which affords an indication of purity and high-mindedness on the part of that powerful organ, very creditable to itself, and one which both executive and legislature would do well to follow. The great difficulty, of course, lies in the introduction of such a measure into a community where general propensity and pecuniary interest are so powerfully against it. But these very obstacles enhance the necessity for it: and so we hope that the reaction in public morals will set in on an early day."

In the *Herald* of the same place, an account is given of a murder in the streets of Melbourne—a not unfrequent event—and the inquest held on the unhappy victim of the drunken perpetrator of the crime, on the proceedings of which it was shown that excessive drinking was the cause of nearly all the robberies and murders of which their early annals were already so full; and that the only hope of any change in the state of society there, was by effecting some change, if possible, in the number of the temptations to drink, by which every man was waylaid, as it were, in every portion of his daily path. The following are the observations of the Melbourne editor on the subject:—

“The evil, then, has reached a magnitude with which the Legislature must deal. The subject, we are told, is a difficult one. Of course it is. The more worthy that physician of the State, a scientific politician. Whether a ‘Maine Liquor Law,’ amongst such social elements as ours, be enforceable or not, may be a matter of question ; but that something is even immediately in our power for mitigating this vast evil, is beyond a doubt. Away with the solemn farce of our justices’ stock sentence—‘fined forty shillings, *or* take him over,’—a sentence which in one case sells to the possessor of forty shillings the privilege of getting drunk offensively to society, whilst the drunkard who cannot pay the forty shillings must take it out in the lock-up—not because he got drunk, but because he has not got forty shillings. But more, let us abandon this sad foolery, and we are sorry to say this (too frequently in this Colony) corrupt business of licensing—copied in form from the system at home—which supplies to the evil denounced ever new life and vigour. Until our benches of magistrates are restrained in this particular, they are allowed to manufacture the vice they are afterwards called upon to punish.”

We have mentioned, in a former portion of this work, that the excellent Chief Justice of Victoria, the province of which Melbourne is the capital, Sir William à Beckett, had, during his stay in the country, given all the weight of his official position and high standing to the promotion of the Temperance Reformation in the community over which he judicially presided, by giving public lectures on the subject, by printing tracts, and by seizing every fit occasion to advert to the subject from the bench. The fruits of his wise and benevolent labours have at length begun to appear ; and we read with pleasure the following proofs of this auspicious beginning of an effort which cannot but have an honourable and useful end.

An Anti-Liquor-Traffic League for Victoria.

“We rejoice to hail the new Anti-Liquor-Traffic League which has been recently started in the interesting colony of Victoria, under promising auspices. Several earnest and patriotic men have put down their names as yearly subscribers of £100 each in support of

the movement. The *Melbourne Argus* and the *Banner* give hearty support to the agitation, the former having a circulation of from fifteen to twenty thousand copies weekly; and from whose leading columns of Dec. 9th, 1853, we make the following extracts, which will be read by all our friends with deep interest:—

“ ‘Some days ago, when writing on the necessity of a measure similar to the Maine Liquor Law, in order to the suppression of drunkenness in this colony, we threw out the suggestion of forming a League for the purpose of obtaining such a measure. A patriotic citizen, Mr. Fulton, of the foundry, caught up the idea, and offered to head a subscription list with the sum of £100 a year, provided that four other subscribers to the same amount would come forward. Mr. Fulton’s generous challenge met with an instant response from a worthy fellow-citizen, who sent a letter stating, “ I gladly become one of your annual subscribers for £100, and confidently expect your five subscribers will increase to nearly fifty !” Several other gentlemen have signified their intention of adding their names as £100 subscribers; and many more have offered smaller sums. A League has been actually formed under the designation of the “ Victoria Liquor Law League,” for the express purpose of agitating the question throughout the Colony, and inducing the Legislature to pass a prohibitory measure. We express our cordial approbation of the movement, on conviction of its necessity and wisdom, our best wishes for its success, and the honour in which we hold those who thus come forward to fight in the very van of so holy a battle.’ ”

I have already exceeded the space allotted for the limits of this work, and must therefore draw it to a close. I cannot do so, however, without expressing my sincere conviction that the Temperance cause was never in a more hopeful or promising condition than at present. It never had so many adherents, so many advocates, or so many friends. The admirable working of the Maine Law in America, wherever it has yet been introduced, has been so satisfactory that no community having once enjoyed its blessings has yet asked for its repeal; and it begins to be equally demanded in Great Britain and all her colonies and dependencies.

We have now also in the field a numerous and able body of

public lecturers, among whom the following may be named:—Dr. Carpenter, Dr. Lees, Mr. Livesey, Mr. Teare, Mr. Inwards, Mr. Whittaker, Mr. Hudson, Mr. Mason, Dr. Burns, Mr. Bowly, Mr. Smith, Mr. Green, Mr. Thompson, Dr. Perrey, Dr. McKerrow, Mr. Pope, Mr. Nelson, Mr. Cassell, Dr. Oxley, Mr. Crnikshank, Mr. and Mrs. Balfour, Mrs. Carlisle, Mrs. Hardwicke, Mrs. Theobald, Col. Shaw, Sir John Forbes, Mr. Heyworth, M.P., Mr. Mudge, Mr. Smithies, Mr. Sinclair, Mr. Glover, Mr. Hood, Mr. Horne, Dr. Beaumont, Dr. Grindrod, Mr. Parsons, Mr. Glover, Mr. Baines, Mr. Tweedie, Dr. Bateman, Mr. Andrew, Mr. Bormond, Mr. Gilpin, Mr. Fry, Mr. Turner, Mr. Hall, and others; aided by the occasional addresses at public meetings of some of the more opulent friends of the cause, as Sir Walter Trevelyan, Mr. Joseph Sturge, Robert Charlton, J. D. Bassett, and Joseph Eaton, all liberal contributors to the funds of the Temperance Societies of their respective localities.

From abroad, we have had the visits of several American friends; and their addresses in public have been of the greatest service to the cause, particularly those of Mr. Beecher, Mr. and Mrs. Stowe, Mr. Kellog, and Mr. Gough. The last is indeed a host in himself, and by his peculiar and unrivalled power in depicting the horrors of intemperance, drawn from his own personal experience of them in all their intensity, and mingling the anecdotes of his singularly varied life, with irresistible appeals to the reason and feelings of his auditors, he has succeeded in attracting the largest audiences in every city, town, and village that he has yet visited, besides thousands in the metropolis, and has effected, no doubt, an incalculable amount of good by his unwearied and successful labours; so that the great mass of the community is now far better prepared than it was even a year ago for the due appreciation of the merits of a law to suppress

entirely all traffic in intoxicating drinks ; and thousands who, twenty years ago, scoffed at the whole subject as a delusion or monomania, fit only for a lunatic assylum, are now thoroughly convinced that Intemperance is England's greatest bane—and that its removal would be the greatest blessing that the country could receive.

Let all, then, who entertain this opinion, evince the sincerity of their convictions, by contributing some portion of their funds, their time, and their labour, in their several neighbourhoods, to the circulation of facts bearing on the question, in lectures, sermons, meetings, journals, tracts, and every other available means, till every ear shall hear, and every heart shall feel, the immense importance of the subject, and thus promote one of the most bloodless and yet glorious Reformations in the state and condition of society that the world has ever yet seen.

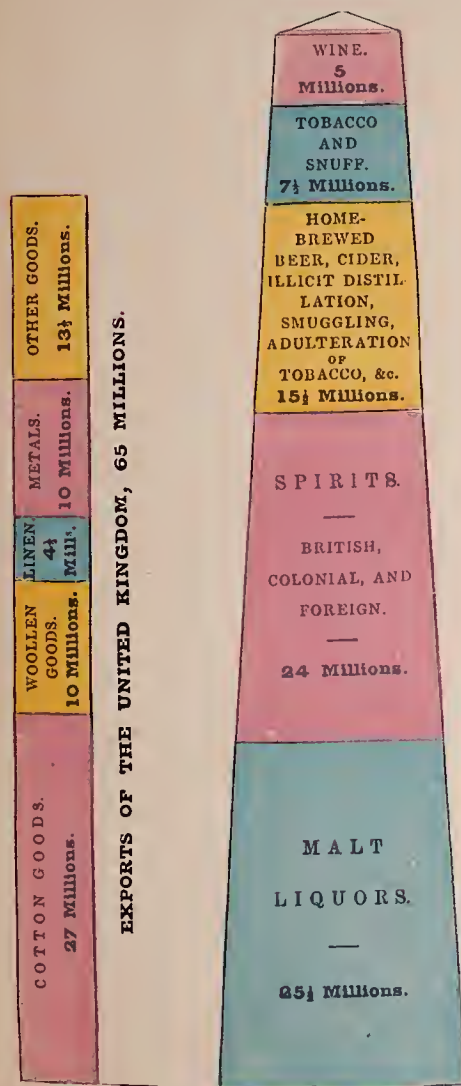
Postscript.

The accompanying coloured engraving will tell its own startling tale, and needs no further explanation than will be found printed on its back. The several obelisks and their sub-divisions will show the respective amounts expended in each of the branches designated; and when it is seen that all that can be raised for religious and benevolent societies in England, falls short of a million sterling, while beer, wine, spirits, and tobacco—all unnecessary in the most moderate use, and the source of immense evil when taken in excess—cost the British community nearly eighty millions sterling, or nearer one hundred millions if illicit distillation, and smuggling be added, in actual expenditure, independently of all the enormous charges involved in the maintenance of police, prisons, hulks, lunatic asylums, hospitals, work-houses, &c., mainly resulting from intemperance in their inmates—we may well doubt whether, as a people, we are entitled to the praises we so often bestow on ourselves, for our wisdom, piety, and philanthropy, in which we frequently boast that we are superior to all other nations now upon the face of the earth.

DRINKING AND SMOKING TAXES.

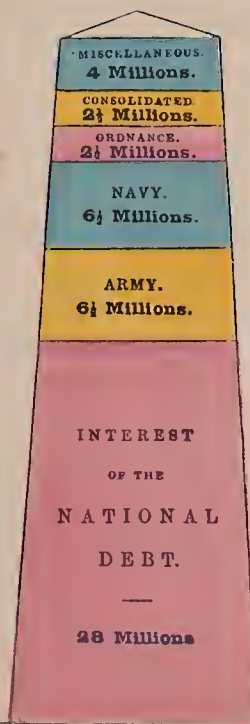
77½ MILLIONS PER ANNUM.

BRITISH TAXATION.

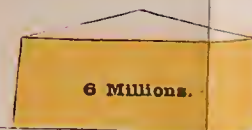


GOVERNMENT TAXES.

50 MILLIONS.



POOR RATES



Our Drinking and Smoking Taxes are half as much again as the entire Taxation of the United Kingdom; twelve times as much as our Poor Rates; and more than seventy times as much as we give to the twelve largest Societies for Promoting the cause of Religion and Morality, whose united annual income does not amount to one million.

(For further particulars, see over.)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE FOLLOWING SOCIETIES.

Bible Society.
Church Missionary Society.
Wesleyan Missionary Society.
London Missionary Society.
Baptist Missionary Society.
Religious Tract Society.
Christian Knowledge Society.
Propagation of the Gospel Society.
Church Pastoral Aid Society.
British and Foreign School Society.
Home Missionary Society.
Sunday School Union.

LESS THAN

ONE MILLION.

SCALE OF MILLIONS STERLING

return. With respect to strong drink we have the following signed by about 2,000 of our most eminent medical men:—

undersigned, are of opinion,—

a very large portion of human misery, including poverty, disease, induced by the use of alcoholic or fermented liquors, as beverages. That the most perfect health is compatible with total abstinence from all stimulating beverages, whether in the form of ardent spirits, or as wine, ale, &c. &c.

that persons accustomed to such drinks, may, with perfect safety, discontinue entirely, either at once, or gradually after a short time.

That total and universal abstinence from alcoholic liquors and intoxicants of all sorts, would greatly contribute to the health, the prosperity, and the happiness of the human race."

Views of the utter worthlessness of such drinks as an article of commerce, confirmed by the experience of thousands of working men and labouring parts of the United Kingdom.

That strong drink as an incentive to crime, and a powerfully demoralizing agent. Judges have frequently spoken in the most decided terms. Therefore we have the following:—

MR. RIDGE: "There is scarcely a crime comes before me that is not, directly, caused by *strong drink*."

MR. JEFFREY: "Every crime has its origin, more or less, in *drunkenness*."

MR. JEFFERSON: "If it were not for this *drinking*, you (the jury) and I would have to do."

MR. JEFFERSON: "*Drunkenness* is the *most fertile source of crime*; and if it were removed, the assizes of the country would be rendered mere nullities."

MR. TAYLOR: "I find in every calendar that comes before me, one unfailing instance, directly or indirectly, of most of the crimes that are committed—

appears that we are annually expending the enormous sum of £500,000 sterling on two articles of mere luxury, which are the sources to the vice, misery, and wretchedness that afflict our

working classes by possibility be made out for the entire abandonment of the practice?

Working classes especially, who, it is computed, annually expend the fore-named sum, we would most earnestly appeal, and entreat them not to barter their means of happiness and comfort, of social elevation, for a low, debasing, and short-lived gratification.

Five millions per annum of the large sum spent in drink might be purchased of land, *it would afford every year a quarter of an acre to every hundred thousand labouring men*; reckoning the land at £100

per acre. In the name of religion and morality we would say, Is it wise or expedient to give your support to customs which so powerfully counteract religion and which absorb to so large an extent the means you greatly need for enlightening and evangelizing the world?

Our largest and most influential religious and philanthropic societies are unable to raise one million a-year to prosecute their praise-worthy work, while upwards of seventy millions are annually squandered on crime-producing drink.